Normalized in the public sphere

A quantitative content analysis and a qualitative framing analysis of the media coverage surrounding The Sweden Democrats from 2005 to 2021.

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Abstract

A sudden rise in right wing parties has occurred throughout Europe, and this is no exception in Sweden. The Sweden Democrats have gone from a small, extremist party with founders who have roots in nazism and fascism, into the third largest party in Sweden. This study have analyzed articles from 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014, 2018 and 2021 in two of the biggest newspapers in Sweden, Aftonbladet and Expressen in order to discover patterns in media material that showcases how traditional and established media outlets such as the ones mentioned have changed, or not changed, their coverage surrounding The Sweden Democrats.

The aim of the study is to analyze the apparent normalization of The Sweden Democrats through frames such as labeling, tonality and topics present in news articles from Aftonbladet and Expressen throughout their rise to power.

The research questions were:

Quantitative research question:

- Has The Sweden Democrats been normalized in Aftonbladet and Expressen from 2005 to 2021 based on labeling, topic and tonality? If so, how?

Qualitative research question:

- What is the discourse(s) and frames surrounding The Sweden Democrats in Aftonbladet and Expressen in the consecutive years?

In order to answer the quantitative research questions, and to fulfill the aim of the study, a content analysis was first done in a large number of articles throughout the years. In order to answer the qualitative research questions, a framing analysis with purposive sampling followed the content analysis, in order to take a closer look into the frames and discourses present in the material throughout the years.

The findings of the study showed that there has been a shift in tonality, topics and labeling throughout the years. The findings showcased that the party in the beginning were labeled as extremists, while gradually becoming labeled as neutral and eventually established in the later years. This showcased a normalization of the party in the media throughout their rise in power.

Keywords: Normalization, Labeling, Tonality, Topic, Right wing extremists
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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

A worrying trend has been occurring throughout Europe in the last decades. That trend is the sudden growth of right wing extremist parties, and the apparent normalization of their type of politics. This is no exception in Sweden, as our right wing extremists The Sweden Democrats (SD) have grown to be the third largest party in our parliament. Their steady rise to power is worrying on a number of levels, the main ones being the notion who seemingly breach human rights, the right to seek asylum.

Not only is their current political plan worrying, but as is their founder's history of nazism and fascism (Expo, 2021). The founders have all been part of parties such as Bevara Sverige Svenskt (Preserve Sweden Swedish), Framstegspartiet (The Progress Party) and Sverigepartiet (The Sweden Party). In 1988, the founders decided to create and rebrand to The Sweden Democrats which was designed to convey their extremism into something more normalized and accepted in society.

Given that authors such as Hanitzsch et al (2018:7) describe how media has the ability to impact how the audience view different ideologies and politics, it’s reasonable to assume that media and journalists have had an impact on the rise of right wing parties. Even though notions such as the one described mentions the importance of journalism, few case studies have been done analyzing and discovering an actual shift in media coverage surrounding right wing parties in the Swedish context. Thus, this paper aims to analyze how, and if, The Sweden democrats have been normalized in the media through labeling, topic and tonality from 2005 to 2021. This will be done through a content analysis, followed by a framing analysis. More specifically, in the years 2005, 2013 and 2021 articles in the time period of the church election will be analyzed, while articles in the time period of the general election in 2006, 2014 and 2018 will be analyzed. As the party gained notoriety in the church election before gaining power in the general election, the coverage surrounding that election is of interest when discussing the normalization and general coverage of the party.

As a content analysis technically cannot discover any deeper ideological meanings, the content analysis will be followed by a framing analysis of representative articles from each year. The same case-specific variables used in the content analysis will be used in the framing analysis in order to discover ideological meanings and discourses present in a smaller sample of the articles.
This topic is of importance, as if Hanitzsch et al.s (2018:7) notion is correct and present in this media material, we might understand how, and if, these ideologies have been normalized through media coverage. This possible new understanding of the subject might help us stop the trend, and stop the eventual breach of human rights.

1.2 Aim & Research Question

The aim of this study is to analyze if, and how, The Sweden Democrats have become normalized in Aftonbladet and Expressen through frames such as labeling, tonality and topic from the year 2005 to 2021.

This will be made through both a content analysis and a framing analysis, in order to discover the possible shift in coverage, as well as discover the ideological meanings and discourses present from each year. This paper will analyze articles from two of the biggest tabloids in Sweden: Aftonbladet and Expressen in the years 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014, 2018 and 2021. Researching these aims could thus lead to a deeper understanding for how the coverage of this specific right wing party has shifted from before they came to power, until now when they are the third largest party in Sweden.

The quantitative research question is:

- Has The Sweden Democrats been normalized in Aftonbladet and Expressen from 2005 to 2021 based on labeling, topic and tonality? If so, how?

The qualitative research question is:

- What are the discourse(s) and frames surrounding The Sweden Democrats in Aftonbladet and Expressen in the consecutive years?
2. Context

2.1 History

The history of The Sweden Democrats is something that the party itself often tries to deny and simultaneously actively tries to distance itself from. As mentioned above, the founders of The Sweden Democrats have close links to other fascist and neo nazi-related parties in Sweden. And The Sweden Democrats current party leader, Jimmie Åkesson, was an active member of the party before they tried to rebrand into something more normalized in society (Expo, 2011). This is of importance not only to this study, but also in order to understand the problematic aspects of allowing parties like The Sweden Democrats into a democratic parliament. The fact that their current leader joined the party before their more accepted views were evoked might be an indication of how their current politics are detrimental to many lives in our society.

Even though The Sweden Democrats no longer identifies or present themselves as a neo nazi-party, one doesn’t have to look far to see the connection between their members and right wing extremism. Throughout the years, multiple scandals where their top members have been exposed as active members in different white power and nazi-related organizations still haunts the party to this day (Dagens Nyheter, 2021).

The Sweden Democrats history is thus of importance as a party such as theirs reasonably should be questioned in the media, in order to contextualize the implications of allowing a party as theirs into parliament. And once again, drawing from authors such as Hanitzch et al (2018:7), it’s the obligation of journalists in the public sphere to present critical information as detrimental as this to the public.

2.2 Research gap

As this paper will analyze whether a possible shift in the media coverage, and more specifically the labeling, topics and tonality surrounding The Sweden Democrats from 2005 to 2021, the research gap this would fill is the understanding of how frames such as these are presented in relation to the party have an impact on the normalization of the party throughout their rise to power.

Further this study will analyze the discourses and frames present in the empirical data, and to further understand how, and if, the discourses have shifted throughout the years examined.
Few studies regarding the normalization process of political parties in specifically news articles throughout their rise to power exist, whether outside or within this specific context. This paper will provide the academic research of discovering possible connections between specific variables and the normalization of The Sweden Democrats in Aftonbladet and Expressen.

2.3 Definitions / academic notions

Labeling - The notion of labeling is a key concept in this study. In this specific context, labeling is defined as assigning something to a specific category, and classifying or categorizing it with something else, and thus making them synonymous.

In practice this entails that The Sweden Democrats can be labeled as either established, right wing extremists or neutral through either a label being explicitly stated, or by the party being categorized with something synonymous (Oxford Languages, 2022).

For this specific study, labeling will follow the definition mentioned above. This entails that variables surrounding labeling will be coded as how they are categorized in relation to the other parties mentioned in the article. For example, if they are explicitly labeled as right wing extremists, they will be coded as such, while if they are described as synonymous to one of the other established parties they will be coded as such. If there is no clear definition of either label, they will be coded as neutral.

Tonality - As labeling, the notion of tonality is a key concept in this study. In this specific context, tonality is defined as how all the characteristics of a text are arranged to conclude in an overall appearance and presentation (Merriam-Webster, 2021). The tonality of an article will be coded as either negative, positive or neutral.

In this specific study, key factors such as the language used or pictures in the article will create the tonality of an article. For example, if multiple value words with a negative connotation are used consecutively in the text, the overall tonality will be negatively coded.

Normalization - The notion of normalization takes on a vital role in this study, as it underpins the research questions and aims. This paper will largely follow Cammaerts' (2020:242) notion of normalization, where it is depicted as something, which in this case is a
specific ideology, progressing from being questioned and criticized into becoming part of the norm in society.

Normalization in this study is thus defined as the process of an ideology gradually becoming part of the norm and no longer being questioned.

**The media** - Although the notion of “the media” might be difficult to define in our rapidly changing media landscape, author Eoin Devereux (2013:10) presents notions which define the media chosen for this study. As the media chosen for this study reaches a large number of people through mass communication, it can be defined as mass media.

Drawing from Devereux’s (2013:10) theories surrounding mass media, the author claims that this type of media have a large influence on political landscapes, as they essentially act as the gatekeeper of the information that will be published to the public. Journalists in mass media thus have the power to decide what information will be presented to the public. This power gives them influence on how audiences view different matters, which makes them important when discussing political ideologies.

However, what’s further of importance when discussing the media chosen in this study is the impact that mass media has on the norms and representation in society. As stated above, the journalists choose what is published to a vast majority of the public, which makes them responsible for the agenda-setting (McCoombs, 2020). This entails that the journalists choose what, and how, people discuss certain issues, which in turn creates discourses in society.

What this entails for this specific study is the distinction that the media used in this study is classified as mass media. Further, it entails that the media used most likely, as suggested by the theory, have an impact on the agenda-setting in the public sphere.

### 2.4 Previous literature

#### 2.4.1 Political journalism in relation to political parties

As this paper will analyze if, and how, frames such as labeling, topics and tonality surrounding The Sweden Democrats possibly have shifted in media material, theories surrounding media’s impact on normalization and narratives are of importance. These
theories are also of importance in order to be able to contextualize the possible findings in both the content analysis and framing analysis.

Bart Cammaerts (2020) presents theories surrounding media's role in normalizing right wing ideologies in his study *The neo-fascist discourse and its normalisation through mediation*. Although this study specifically focuses on neo-fascist ideologies and discourses, the definitions made in the study align with the ideologies of The Sweden Democrats. According to Cammaerts (2020:241) neo-fascism is a contemporary ideology which is shaped by both nationalism as well as the desire to maintain racial heritage. As described above, The Sweden Democrats were created from a fascist party with roots in nationalism and neo-nazism, which makes the narrative surrounding them in relation to a general election especially interesting to contextualize with the help of Cammaerts (2020:241) study.

This theory is of importance as it shows how fascist ideologies in the past have been normalized to the extent of being seen as “common sense”, as described by Cammaerts (2020:242). The author further elaborates on how both traditional media and social media in other democracies has contributed with the normalization and acceptance of these, previously seen as extreme, ideologies. Thus, this study is of importance in order to contextualize a possible similar situation in the discourse and society my study is presented in. The theory will also provide an insight to the dangers of actually allowing these ideologies to become the new norm in a democratic society.

This study further presents the reader with Popper's theory called the Paradox of Tolerance (Cammaerts, 2020:242). This theory was presented after the second world war and it discusses how a society which is tolerant to all ideologies eventually will become intolerant towards people who do not fit into the new norm. This is especially interesting, as if my study discovers a new found tolerance towards The Sweden Democrats it might possibly result in an intolerance towards the people who do not fit into the society the party wants to create. This is of course incredibly problematic, and dangerous, as it’s reminiscent of the society in which the theory of the paradox was created. As Cammaerts (2020:242) stated: “[...] fascism has managed to transform that which was deemed to be unacceptable and politically repugnant only a short time ago into the new ‘common sense’.”
The findings in Cammaerts (2020:250) paper shows that media seemingly does play a large role in the rise of right wing ideologies. According to his study, while traditional media is frowned upon by these ideologies as they’re seen as influencers with a liberal agenda, they’re simultaneously seen as a necessity in order to normalize their ideologies in society. Journalists use these ideological leaders as a tool to engage their audiences, as it usually upsets and engages audiences to a point of needing to keep reading about these ideologies. Further, if journalists keep producing content surrounding these ideologies, and providing the audiences with information of the ideological leaders, it seemingly normalizes them in a natural way in society (Cammaerts, 2020:250).

The overall notion of normalization is of great importance to this study, as the aim is to discover if, and how, The Sweden Democrats have been normalized in the public sphere. The theories regarding normalization will thus provide insight in how, and if, this has occurred naturally, and the implications if this has happened. And given that the normalization of fascist ideologies in societies is not a new occurrence, providing the audience and researcher with insight of how it is done, might be a first step of stopping this trend. Its importance is best described by a quote presented in Cammaerts (2020:242) by Mark Twain: “History doesn’t repeat itself, but it does rhyme”.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Framing theories

As mentioned above, this study aims to discover patterns of political ideologies or meanings in media material. Given that a content analysis theoretically cannot provide with any qualitative insights, theories regarding framing will be used both when operationalizing the variables, as well as when analyzing the possible meanings of the results. This is of importance, as framing theories tend to shed light on how language used in written material can showcase ideologies and discourses present that might not have been apparent at first glance (Lindekilde, 2014:3).

Theories surrounding both general frames and case specific frames will lay grounds not only for the analysis itself, but also for the variables used in both the content analysis and the framing analysis. Authors Brüggemann and D’Angelo (2018:90) mentions how theories and concepts surrounding framing gather and mobilize theories surrounding political communications that previously have been dispersed throughout many different disciplines. This concept of a framing analysis allows the researcher to adapt variables and frames which are relevant for the specific context, making this method and theories within it highly customizable for the specific discourse it’s used in. Their study will further lay grounds for the choice of using both case-specific as well as generic frames in one study, as they argue that doing this will create a more thorough understanding of the dynamics and the complexity that the public sphere actually entails (Brüggemann & D’Angelo, 2018:91).

As mentioned above, a framing analysis is easily shaped in a context specific way which provides the researcher with the ability to frame the variables in ways that will contextualize the findings. Thus, this chapter will present theories which will lay grounds for the variables used in both methods, as well as provide context for the research in general. The theories presented below will be included as part of the framing analysis, as well as the content analysis, and are of importance for the greater picture of the study. Lastly, the theories will provide insights on both how labeling has occurred previously in other contexts and with other political parties, as well as provide insight on possible explanations for the findings of this paper regarding normalization of political parties.
Analyzing the normalization through frames in newspapers is of importance, as journalists possess the power to spread information to a vast amount of people in a controlled fashion. Not only do they have the power to spread information, they also have an obligation for that information to be factual. This is as important as ever as the difference between layman and educated journalist have been blurred in our modern day media climate. Anyone can post anything presented as facts and proceed to reach an unlimited amount of people in little to no time. As of this the importance and power of journalists and established newspapers have been the subject of analysis for researchers across different scientific disciplines. Authors such as Ekström et al (2020:206) and Hanitzsch et al (2018:7) argue that journalists, despite our modern media climate, are some of the most powerful influences when it comes to spreading and producing knowledge. And I would argue, as it is the basis of this study, that in regards to right wing parties rising in power, journalists have an obligation to present the actual implications of allowing parties such as The Sweden Democrats into the positions of power.

These theories regarding framing, and the journalists role in our modern day media climate, are of importance to the study as they not only showcase the power and influence of journalists, but also how journalists use frames to present different narratives and discourses.

3.2 Media’s role in normalization of right wing ideologies

Given the theories mentioned above, there is an underlying assumption of the fact that journalists do in fact remain as large power houses in political communication. Authors such as Forchtner et al (2019:206) argue that journalists in traditional media and newspapers are of great importance when relaying messages between political parties and the public.

Further, authors such as Forchtner et al (2019:205) argue that there has been a recent development of a new notion they call “media democracy” (Forchtner et al, 2019:205). This notion essentially entails that traditional media and media policies are of greater importance when discussing political progress of new ideologies than when discussing previously known political ideologies. This occurs as journalists possess the power discussed above, which makes audiences more prone to listen to more established news channels than for example social media channels. These theories presented by Forchtner et al (2019) combined with Ekström et al (2020:206) are of importance to this study as it shows the influence that journalists have when discussing...
the public perception of political parties. And as this study will research the shift in labeling, tonality and topic of The Sweden Democrats, discussing the impact of this possible shift is of importance in order to contextualize the findings.

Forchtner et al (2019:205) claims regarding journalists and their importance in a democratic society are neither new nor unheard of. Authors such as Vliegenthart et al (2012:316) argue that multiple studies, including their own, have shown the importance and influence of traditional media and newspapers when analyzing possible explanations of right wing ideologies sudden rises to power. They further argue that the coverage surrounding these types of parties, at least in the European context, will provide the parties with such exposure to the public that they reach a new audience and thus gain popularity outside of their closest circle.

Although my study does not aim to showcase or analyze the impact of these specific media(s), these studies are of importance as they show the importance of the narrative that journalists in traditional media present. Further, as the theories presented above argue that traditional media most likely do have an impact on the public perception of right wing ideologies, the studies are of great importance in order to contextualize, as well as to analyze the impact, of the findings. The theories will thus provide an insight to how the framing of The Sweden Democrats most likely have an impact on the normalization of these ideologies in this specific discourse. And as normalization in this paper is seen as a shift in the norm in society, the theories regarding the processes of political journalism and its impact on norms are of interest to include.

3.3 Theories surrounding labeling

Given that one of the main notions in this paper is labeling, theories regarding labeling in newspapers will be presented in order to further understand the findings of this study. It is however important to note that these theories will provide a starting point in discussing the findings of this study, rather than providing a clear explanation, as my study consists of case-specific variables.

Authors such as Eisinger et al (2007:22) argue that labeling in the media most often is a natural response to societal norms. Eisinger et al (2007) found that those who are most labeled (disregarding if it’s positive, negative or neutral) are those who are not what’s seen as
the norm. What is seen as “the norm” is of course determined by for example the context and
discourse it’s presented in. The example given by Eisinger et al (2007:22) is that liberal
parties are labeled as liberal in conservative newspapers, as they’re seen as “the other”. Thus,
according to Eisinger et al (2007) the labeling presented in the newspaper is what’s seen as
the norm in that context and discourse. This theory is of importance as the term labeling is
not normally associated with studies as this one, and it will provide both frames for the two
different methods, as well as provide discussion starting points in order to explain the
meaning behind the findings.

3.4 Theories surrounding populism
The notion of populism has been discussed thoroughly in the field of media studies, and some
of the earlier studies’ main focus was on the differences between how different parties
mobilized under a populist label. However, studies have since reached a consensus that the
overall definition of populism can be encapsulated to three elements: how they appeal to the
public, criticizing the elites and the general idea that politics are an extended expression of
“general will” (Bergh & Kärnä, 2021:53).

Populism has a tendency to be shaped differently regarding which political side it’s presented
in, where left-wing populism is construed as socialism, and right-wing populism is construed
as nationalism. This differentiation of the different populistic sides are of importance, as
studies have found that their conduct differs in parliaments (Bergh & Kärnä, 2020:53).

This study will follow the definition in Bergh and Kärnä (2020:53) of how right-wing
populism is presented. Their study further mentions how right-wing populism might present
itself as a response to globalization. When globalization gradually increases right-wing
populism offers nationalism as a form of protection against outside factors (Bergh & Kärnä,
2020:53). The parties’ tend to present themselves as a political party who exist to protect the
nation and its citizens. This theory is of importance as it might conceptualize some of the
findings in the framing analysis. Findings that align with this description of the notion of
populism will be coded as such in the framing analysis.

3.5 What is lacking in the theories
All of the theories presented above are of importance to this study both for operationalizing
the variables in order to measure what’s supposed to be measured, but also in order to
contextualize the findings of the study. However, these theories have not been brought into and tested in a context such as the one presented in this study. Thus, this study is of importance as these theories will be contextualized and might possibly be given a deeper meaning when analyzed in relation to the possible findings in this paper.

Although the studies mentioned above have studied similar happenings as this paper, none of the theories and assumptions made in the studies have been applied in this specific context and discourse. Thus, this study will provide both researcher and audience with a deeper understanding of how the frames have impacted the apparent normalization of right wing ideologies in the specific context and discourse this paper studies. Further, authors such as Strömbäck and Kaid (2008:1) argue that many studies surrounding elections and media coverage lack the contextualizing discussion surrounding the findings in studies, which will be included in my study.

Studies regarding the normalization of The Sweden Democrats have been made in the past by for example Ekström et al (2020). The aim of their study was to discover the discourses present in news interviews with the leaders of The Sweden Democrats. Their study showed that the journalists have a tendency to normalize the party’s political views (Ekström et al, 2020:480). My study’s data consists of news articles that mention The Sweden Democrats rather than solely consisting of interviews, and will contribute to a deeper understanding of the complexity of normalization processes shown in the media.
4. Method & material

4.1 Content analysis

In order to analyze the large amounts of material presented in this study, a content analysis will be performed. A content analysis will allow the researcher to discover connections, frequencies and possible patterns in media material, which theoretically could lead to a generalizable result. This generalizable result could later be applied to other data in other populations, in order to understand frequencies outside of the original context (Hansen & Machin, 2019:88). Content analyses are one of the more common methods when aiming to analyze structures in media material. Its efficiency in analyzing large amounts of materials in a relatively short time will benefit the researcher in such that they have the ability to both adapt the method, as well as systematically analyze the material at hand (Hansen & Machin, 2019:88).

A content analysis is thus vital for this study, given its aim described above. And more specifically, the content analysis will work as a tool in order to discover frequencies and possible patterns on the material used in this specific study. Even though a content analysis in itself is a relatively adaptable method on its own, it lacks a more qualitative aspect when analyzing media material. Variables operationalized from the theories presented above will be applied on the material in order to discover the discourses and frames present in the material. This is of importance in order to properly discover the historical and cultural significance of the topic at hand, which would otherwise be lost.

As mentioned, this method will allow the researcher to analyze a large amount of material in a relatively short amount of time, and hopefully also result in a generalizable result. However, as I argue that this research requires more specific variables in order to understand the deeper ideological context, this method will be combined with theories that will allow the researcher to discover those ideologies and frames. This idea is further discussed by Holsti, found in Hansen & Machin (2019:92). A content analysis is by its very own definitions a purely quantitative method, and can only discover frequencies of key factors and not the actual meanings behind it. This further aligns with my argument that combining this method with framing theories is vital in order to be able to answer the research questions posed in this study.
4.2 Framing analysis
Given the restrictions that a content analysis poses, a framing analysis will be done on a smaller sample of the material. A framing analysis will allow the researcher to both discover, as well as determine, how and if ideological meanings form discourses present in the material. Given the method's purpose and flexibility, it’s often used when wanting to analyze and discover social and political movements in texts that may or may not be politically motivated (Lindekilde, 2014:3). And given that this study aims to discover if, and how, discourses surrounding different ideological meanings are present in this specific context, a framing analysis will be made. The overall focus of a framing analysis is to create a deeper understanding of the discourses present in the material and to discover the cultural narratives created for the audience. Thus, a framing analysis is of importance when exploring the relationship between different ideological approaches and their frames in the public sphere (Lindekilde, 2014:2).

More specifically, a framing analysis is a method which stems from the analytical framework of social communication and has its roots in hermeneutics, the study of interpreting social text in order to determine its meaning (Lindekilde, 2014:2). As the method often, but not solely, is used when analyzing political texts the method might help the researcher discover and understand how different patterns form the narrative and discourse of a text (Lindekilde, 2014:2).

The choice of using a framing analysis for this particular study stems from the fact that this study aims to analyze the discourses and frames present in a smaller amount of the empirical data. The study further aims to discover how discourses surrounding a problematic political party, and if and how the discourses have possibly changed throughout this party’s political journey. As presented above, a framing analysis will allow the researcher to do just this, and it is the reason it’s being used in this study.

4.3 Combining the methods
As this study will analyze both generalizable patterns in a large amount of media material, as well as discover the possible ideological discourses present in a smaller amount of the same data, a combination of these two methods is necessary (Cresswell, 2018:31). The methods will be combined by not only using the same material, but also by using the same case-specific as well as generic frames developed in and for this specific context. This will
result in the ability to analyze the same empirical data with the same operationalized variables, while still being able to determine and discover different outcomes. Practically, this entails that the same coding scheme will be used in both analyses, and thus researching the same frames and material but receiving different types of knowledge.

4.4 Analytical framework
The analytical framework is mainly based on Lindekildes (2014:3) theories regarding how framing theories and variables should be created in order to help the researcher discover and analyze ideologies and discourses present in the material. Lindekilde (2014:3) mentions how framing can be used as a general notion in order to further adapt variables to a more case-specific analysis, which will be made in this case.

Further, authors Brüggemann and D’Angelo (2018:92) agrees with Lindekildes (2014:3) theories surrounding how to perform and develop frames in a framing analysis, and further claims that developing case-specific as well as general frames will create an analysis that is conceptualized to a specific issue. For example, given that this study entails to examine a political party whose history is of great importance to their notoriety, variables and frames that touch on their history are of importance.

4.5 Material
The empirical data that will be analyzed in this study consists of articles from Aftonbladet and Expressen, which are two of the biggest newspapers in Sweden. More specifically, articles from 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2018 and 2021 will be analyzed. The choice of those years are based on the fact that they are all years where major elections (such as the church- and general-election) have taken place.
It is however important to note that the party had not yet been chosen into parliament in 2005 or 2006, as they gained 2,93 % of votes in the general election in 2006 (Valmyndigheten, 2006). Despite this I would argue that these are important years to analyze, as they not only gained a lot of votes in the church election, but also began to be taken seriously as an actual party with a chance of being chosen into parliament in the following years.

4.5.1 Sampling procedure content analysis
The population that will be analyzed are news articles in Aftonbladet and Expressen in years which all contained elections. However, as it’s unreasonable in terms of the timeframe of a
master thesis to analyze all articles from each year, a representative sample from each year will be analyzed. Previous studies covering elections throughout Europe have shown that the coverage surrounding parties increases closer to the general election taking place (Deacon et al, 2006:225, Deacon et al, 2017:9). More specifically, the study *Same Campaign, Different Agendas: Analysing News Media Coverage of the 2005 General Election* written by Deacon et al (2006) showed that articles regarding politics steadily increased in the weeks leading up to the general election. Further, studies show that there is an increase in audience participation and reach the weeks prior to the general election (Azizuddin & Sani, 2014:70). Thus, this study will analyze articles in the two weeks leading up to the general election in 2006, 2014 and 2018. In 2005, 2013 and 2021 the two weeks analyzed will be the weeks subsequent to the election. This choice was not intended, but had to be made as there was not enough article for a content analysis leading up to the church election. So the choice of choosing articles that was posted after the church election was made as it will provide the study with a reasonable sample to analyze.

In order to choose the most representative sample of the population, the sampling procedure will follow Hansen & Machins (2019:95) process of determining the most reasonable representative sample.

4.5.2 The media

As stated, articles from Aftonbladet and Expressen will lay ground as the media analyzed in this paper, mainly as they’re two of the biggest tabloids in Sweden. Given the newspaper's size, it’s reasonable to assume that they might provide an insight to the discourse present surrounding The Sweden Democrats during each year. Hansen & Machin (2019:95) argues that the researcher has to specify the type of media platform that will be analyzed as it will affect the sample procedure as well as the population. The newspapers have previously in this paper been described as tabloids rather than newspapers, and that decision stems from the fact that Merriam-Webster's (2022) definition of a tabloid correlates with the layout and business model of what a tabloid entails: it’s a newspaper with condensed reports of news which simultaneously produces news with a lot of moving material and/or images. Further, drawing from Calhouns (1992:2) elaborations of Habermas’ notion of the public sphere, the sheer quantity of participation in regards to media is crucial when making statements of something being representative of the public sphere.
Thus, analyzing two of the biggest tabloids in Sweden would result in a representative sample when discussing public perception and the public sphere.

Further of importance to note, Aftonbladets editors claim that the newspapers’ overall foundation is independently social democratic, but further claims that the coverage of the news is independent from any political ideologies and will report on the news objectively (Aftonbladet, 2016). Expressen claims to be a liberal newspaper, but in coherence with Aftonbladet claim that their reporting is objective when discussing political matters (Expressen, 2017). Expressen further claims that both their target group as well as their readers represent the population of Sweden in everything from gender, background, age and education (Expressen, 2017). Concluding this segment, I would argue that analyzing this type of media will result in a relatively representative sample of the public sphere of this specific discourse.

4.5.3 The time period
The material in this study stems from a specific event which entails that the specific time period that will be analyzed is naturally defined (Hansen & Machin, 2019:95). This paper will analyze the two weeks leading up to the general election in 2006, 2014 and 2018. This paper will also analyze two weeks subsequent to the church election in 2005, 2013 and 2021. It would have been preferred to analyze articles leading up to the church election, but this was limited by the fact that very few articles existed from that time frame, which forced the analysis of articles subsequent to the case instead. The sampling will thus be a “continuous week sampling”, as seen in Hansen & Machin (2019:96), which in general is seen as a representative sampling procedure when analyzing a specific event.

4.5.4 The relevant content
The relevant content for this study will be retrieved through the media archive “Retriever”. This will allow the researcher to retrieve both old and new media material that relates to the key words chosen. The researcher is then able to choose the dates, the type of media material as well as the media of which they would like to analyze. In this specific study, the key word was simply “Sverigedemokraterna” (The Sweden Democrats), as that’s what the study entails to analyze. The choice of solely choosing one key word was based on the fact of the study’s wish to analyze all articles definitively discussing this party in the time periods in relation to any topics.
This search resulted in 216 articles (108 from Aftonbladet and 108 from Expressen) from 2018, 308 articles (157 from Aftonbladet and 151 from Expressen) from 2014, and 63 articles (39 from Aftonbladet and 24 from Expressen) from 2006.

For the church election years, 24 articles (12 from Aftonbladet and 12 from Expressen) was retrieved from 2021, 22 articles (11 from Aftonbladet and 11 from Expressen) was retrieved from 2013, and 15 articles (10 from Aftonbladet and 5 from Expressen) was retrieved from 2005. Naturally, fewer articles existed in the years 2005 and 2006, but given that it’s still a totality sample it will be representative of the time.

4.5.5 Sampling procedure framing analysis

As the framing analysis will stem from the content analysis, a purposive sampling from the population consisting of the articles in the content analysis will be made (Guest et al, 2013:7). This as the framing analysis will analyze data that is not randomized, but rather based on the findings from each year. Although a purposive sampling, also known as a non-probability sampling, is not randomized, it does not mean that the findings in such data is not representative for the larger population. It does however mean that the findings might not be generalizable to a population outside of the context it’s presented in. However, given that a quantitative study such as a framing analysis does not aim to do so, this will not affect the outcome of this analysis.

Authors such as Guest et al (2013:8) argue that a non-probability sampling method for qualitative research is developed and used in order to deepen the understanding of specific content in specific populations, which aligns with the aims for the framing analysis for this specific study. The authors further claim that the most common approach for a non-probability sampling is a purposive sampling (Guest et al, 2013:9). This entails sampling data which aligns with the purpose of the study. What this entails more concretely in terms of sampling for the framing analysis is that the articles will be purposely sampled from the findings in the content analysis by sampling articles that are representative of some of the more interesting findings.

4.6 Generalizability

Given that this study will perform a content analysis, which in general is seen as relatively objective and systematic, the results of this study, if statistically significant, will be
generalizable. In order to further ensure the generalizability of the study, an Intercoder Reliability test will be performed (see chapter 3.7 - Validity and reliability). However, given the nature of the content analysis, and that case-specific variables will be used, the generalizability of the study will be lower. The case-specific variables are generalizable in this specific case and context, but cannot technically be used to generalize other contexts or cases.

As a framing analysis on a smaller sample of the empirical data will be made, the generalizability of the qualitative part of the study is practically impossible. A framing analysis, even though generic frames are being used, is subjective both to the researcher and to the nature of the study as it studies a specific case. These types of qualitative framing analyses are thus not generalizable to the broader picture and cannot be transferred to other cases or contexts.

4.7 Coding variables

As mentioned above, some of the variables for this research have been developed with theories of framing in mind. Some of those variables will be general in order to raise the generalizability of the study, while some of them will be case-specific in order to discover contexts and ideologies of this specific case.

Multiple variables are identifiers that measure for example date, year and which newspaper the article is published in. These are of importance as comparing these identifiers with other variables, such as case-specific variables, might show different correlations and patterns in the population. Hansen and Machin (2019:98) argues that these types of identifier-variables are of importance when analyzing and contextualizing the findings, and might provide context in relation to the study.

4.7.1 History of the case-specific variables

Given that the problematic history of The Sweden Democrats plays a large role in their extremism, variables surrounding their history will pose as the majority of the case-specific variables. Although, however important the case-specific frames might seem, they are not developed to discover or contextualize the articles completely unaccompanied by generic frames. Brüggemann and D’Angelo (2018:91) argues that case-specific frames are designed to give further depth to the analysis, rather than to solely describe a context alone. The
variables developed for the content analysis and the framing analysis will thus be complementary to one another as they touch on different levels of a complex situation.

Further, Brüggemann and D’Angelo (2018:91) argues that combining both generic variables and case-specific ones will result in a deeper understanding of the problem at hand, especially when analyzing political ideologies in the public sphere. This as narratives and frames present in newspapers usually have more depth than only one type of frames.

What the case-specific frames in this study actually touch on is The Sweden Democrats history of fascism and nazism described above.

Example:

(16). Does the article cover anything related to the party’s problematic history (nazism, fascism, racism etc)?

1. Yes 2. No

Showcased above is the 16th variable (see full list in appendices). This variable touches on if anything surrounding The Sweden Democrats history is mentioned in the article analyzed. Comparing this with either another case-specific or generic variable might result in a correlation which will showcase patterns in the media material analyzed. This variable, amongst the others like it, are empirical variables formed during the pilot study, which was made with the articles used in the church election years. This pilot study was made to test the variables and to ensure that they measured what was intended.

The other type of case-specific variables in the content analysis touch not only on The Sweden Democrats history, but also on theories surrounding labeling and normalization.

(24). How is the party labeled?

1. Ring wing extremists 2. Established 3. Neutral

Comparing and analyzing variables like the ones above might give an indication of if, and how, the narrative and reporting surrounding The Sweden Democrats have shifted throughout the years. Thus, including both generic and case-specific variables are of great importance in order to create a more comprehensive understanding of the matter at hand. This variable is
both a theoretical variable as well as an empirical variable. Although it was first thought of
during the pilot study, the full reach of the variable formed from, and together with, theories
surrounding normalization of right wing parties in media.

Lastly, generic variables, such as actor or topic are also included in the coding scheme in
order to contextualize the narrative and discourse present in the material, as well as provide
the analysis with some indicators of what might be the correlating factor. These are of
importance as they will provide the analysis and research with the depth and context required
for the complex reality of political communication.
4.8 Coding scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tonality</td>
<td>This category is designed to describe the overall tonality that is presented in the article, in order to determine the narrative presented. This category follows the definition of tonality presented above.</td>
<td>“Given that the article simply presents the results of the church election without applying any value words of own reflections of the results, the overall tonality of the article is neutral.” From the framing analysis of Appendix no. 8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>This category is designed to discover both the overarching topic that the article discusses, as well as if any other topic possibly is mentioned.</td>
<td>Mentioning anything regarding a specific subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“The fight for the power in the parliament has taken over […]” Appendix no 9.6. An example of the general election as a topic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labeling</td>
<td>This category is designed in order to discover the labeling of The Sweden Democrats in the article. This category follows the definition of labeling presented above.</td>
<td>“The xenophic Sweden Democrats” - Appendix no 9.6 Example of right wing extremists “The party is simply discussed and brought up like any other party, making them labeled as established through association” -App. No. 9.9 Example of labeling as established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active actor</td>
<td>This category is designed in order to discover who’s, if any, is the most prominent active actor, as well as if there are multiple active actors in the article.</td>
<td>“[…], says Peter Esiasson, professor and political scientist” - Appendix no 9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifier</td>
<td>This category is designed to identify characteristics of the article analyzed, such as the date it was published or which</td>
<td>Expressen or Aftonbladet. Format: YYYY-MM-DD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.9 Validity & reliability

Given the nature of a content analysis, it’s one of the more systematic and thus replicable methods when analyzing media material (Hansen & Machin, 2019:92). Hansen & Machin (2019:92) further argues that using terms such as “objective” is an outdated view of quantitative studies, as it’s practically inevitable for the researcher to be perfectly objective when doing analyses. Words such as replicable are, according to the authors, more fitting to use. In order to measure the replicability, or reliability, of the study, a Holsti-test has been performed.

Two researchers, one of them being the author for this specific paper, have used the variables created for this study and used them on a small sample of the population (15%). According to author Mao (2017:N/A), if their score is 0.9 or higher, the variables and study can be seen as reliable and replicable. In this study, this test was made between two unrelated researchers on a small sample of the population (≈ 25%), and the score of the test was above 0.9, which gives an indication that the study is replicable and reliable. Author Potter (1996:14) mentions that an intercoderreliability test is of importance to further ensure the reliability of a study.

In order to further assure the reliability of the study, a pilot study was made with the variables on the articles from the church election years (2005, 2013 and 2021). The pilot study examined a smaller amount of material from the same dates mentioned above. This was made in order to disclose and discover any inconsistencies with the variables, and to further ensure that the variables indeed measured what was supposed to be measured.

Ensuring the validity in qualitative studies is practically impossible, as stated by Potter (1996:14). However, the author mentions how method triangulations that research different aspects of the data might be an indication of validity in qualitative research. In further regards to the validity of the study, the variables conducted for the content analysis are both operationalized from the theoretical framework. Potter and Wetherell (1987:170) further argues that full transparency might further validate a qualitative study. Hence this paper will include full sampling methods, as well as a coding scheme to ensure that the reader understands the study.

4.10 Ethics
The data collection process of this study will be such as collecting published articles through a data collecting program called Retriever. Given that there are no respondents or people as subjects in this study, no particular form of ethics are being breached. As goes for the variables, one variable touches on active actors in the media material. The actors mentioned are politicians, journalists or the general public, and are not mentioned either by name or any other form of identification of not previously known individuals that can lead the reader towards a deeper understanding of whom the variable touches on, and thus not breaching any type of ethics in regards to either GDPR or identification level.
5. Results

5.1 Content analysis tables - Church election years

5.1.1 Labeled x year crosstabs

Table 1. This table shows the different church election years and how the labeling of The Sweden Democrats have shifted throughout those years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which year was it published?</th>
<th>How is SD labeled</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right wing extremists</td>
<td>Established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>published?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>published?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>published?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>published?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Cramer’s $V = .513$. Significance = $<.001$

Table 1 shows the correlation between the year an article was published and how The Sweden Democrats has been labeled. As seen, there has been a shift in labeling throughout the years, where the party has gone from being labeled as right wing extremists in 2005, to mainly being labeled as neutral or not at all in 2013, and in 2021 going as far as being labeled as established.

Although this shift is concerning, it might have a natural explanation. In 2005, the party had not yet been chosen into parliament, and naturally wasn't established yet. However, it is concerning that the shift from right wing extremist towards neutral happened at such a fast rate.
5.1.2 Tonality x year crosstabs

Table 2. This table shows the different church election years and how the overall tonality of the articles have shifted throughout those years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which year was it published?</th>
<th>Overall tonality Crosstabulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Cramer’s V = 0.299  
Significance = .028

Table 2 shows the correlation of the year the article was published and the overall tonality of the article.

As seen in table 2, it’s prominent that there has been a shift in overall tonality of the articles throughout the years. The tonality has shifted from being overall negative in 2005 towards being overall neutral in both 2013 and 2021.

One interesting aspect of this table is that the negative articles increased from 2013 to 2021, after decreasing from 2005 to 2013. However, when compared to table 1, one could wonder if the negativity present in the articles from 2021 is an overall negativity towards the subjects at hand, rather than a negativity towards The Sweden Democrats as a party. As the party in 2021 was described as established, it’s natural to assume that the negative tonality in those articles were based on an overall negativity towards the parliament as a whole, rather than towards The Sweden Democrats, as it seemingly is in 2005 when compared to table 1.
5.1.3 Topic x year

Table 3. This table shows the relation between the church election years and what main topic was discussed in the article throughout the years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which year was it published?</th>
<th>General topic Crosstabulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Cramer’s V = 0.384  
Significance = .117

Table 3 shows the correlation between what year the article was published and the general topic of the article. The table shows that the church election remains the main topic throughout all years, apart from in 2021 where the general election was covered as much as the church election.

Although there are some similarities in the different years, the findings are not significant and no definitive findings can be drawn from the table.
5.1.4 Year X History

Table 4. This table shows the different church election years and if each year had any mention of The Sweden Democrats history.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which year was it published?</th>
<th>2005 Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>2013 Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>2021 Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Cramer’s V = .362
Significance = .018

Table 4 shows the correlation between the year the article was published and if the article contained anything related to The Sweden Democrats history.

As these findings are significant, it’s prominent that there has been a vast change in mentioning the party’s history from 2005 to 2021. Although the shift happened gradually, it’s prominent that there was a large shift between the year 2013, where the history was mentioned in around ⅓ of the articles, whereas it was only mentioned in around 1/10 of the articles in 2021.

Although this study cannot determine whether this shift is due to the fact that the party has become more established and is no longer questioned by journalists, or whether it’s of any other reason, it’s interesting, and quite concerning, that a history such as theirs is being avoided in the public sphere.
5.1.5 Labeled x history

Table 5. This table shows the relation between how The Sweden Democrats were labeled in the church election years and if any mention of their history was discussed.

### How is SD labeled * Anything related to SDs history Crosstabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How is SD labeled</th>
<th>Right wing extremists</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% within How is SD labeled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Cramer’s V = .674  
Significance = <.001

Table 5 shows the correlation between how The Sweden Democrats have been labeled, and if the article addresses the parties history in the article.

As seen in table 5, there is a clear correlation between how the party is being labeled, and whether the article discusses their problematic past.

What’s prominent when analyzing this table is the fact that in most of the cases where the party is being labeled as right wing extremists the articles also discuss the history of the party, whereas in the articles that label the party as established, none of the articles mention anything in regards to their history.

Once again, no clear explanation for this can be drawn from these findings, but one can wonder whether the reason for not mentioning their history in those articles who describe and label them as established is due to the fact that it would be contradictory and confusing for the reader. One could further wonder if mentioning their history would help contextualize the concerns of allowing a party such as theirs into the parliament.
5.1.6 Labeled x Topic

Table 6. This table shows the relation between how The Sweden Democrats were labeled and the main topic in the article in the church election years.

![Table 6 Image]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How is SD labeled</th>
<th>Right wing extremists</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Established</td>
<td>% within How is SD labeled</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>% within How is SD labeled</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% within How is SD labeled</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Cramer’s V = .363  
Significance = .186

Table 6 shows the relation between how The Sweden Democrats are labeled and the general topic of the article. The findings have a weak association and are not significant, so no definite correlation of the relationship between the two can be drawn from this table alone.

5.2 Content analysis tables general election years

5.2.1 Labeling x year

Table 7. This table shows the relation between how The Sweden Democrats are labeled throughout the general election years.

![Table 7 Image]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How is SD labeled</th>
<th>Right wing extremists</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Established</td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Cramer’s V = .243  
Significance = < .001

Table 7 shows the relation between labeling and which year the article was published.
The table clearly shows a shift in labeling between the general election years. In 2006, 57.1% of all articles labeled The Sweden Democrats as right wing extremists, while only 27.6% did so in 2014. In 2014, the majority of the articles (45.5%) labeled The Sweden Democrats as neutral. In 2018, the majority of the articles labeled the party as established (47.2%), while only labeling them as right wing extremists in 18.5% of the articles.

This shift is especially interesting when contextualized with Eisinger et al.s (2007:22) theory regarding labeling in newspapers. As described above, their study states that when something is specifically labeled (regardless of the label), the thing being labeled is not seen as the norm in society. Given that The Sweden Democrats were mainly labeled as right wing extremists in 2006, this most likely means that they were not seen as the norm, and that it was generally a negative view on their opinions during this time.

However, given that the main label was a neutral label (or lack of label) in 2014, there was most likely more of an acceptance of their views during this time. It most likely also entails that there has been a shift in norms in society and that the party had shifted from being “the others” in society towards being a natural part in this discourse.

Regarding 2018, there is once again a clear shift in labeling from the previous years. This shows that the norm was labeling the party as established rather than either neutral or right wing extremists. Once again, as mentioned above, this most likely shows a shift in the norms present in this specific discourse.
5.2.2 Tonality x year

Table 8. This table shows the relation between the overall tonality of the article and which general election year it was published.

### Overall tonality * Which year was it published? Crosstabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall tonality</th>
<th>Positive Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>Negative Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>Neutral Count</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% within Which year was it published?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall tonality</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Cramer’s V = .059  
Significance = .400

Table 8 shows the relation between which year the article was published and the overall tonality of the article. As the results of this table are not significant, no real conclusions can be drawn. However, as seen, there has been no clear shift between overall tonality throughout the years.
5.2.3 Topic x year

Table 9. This table shows the relations between the main topic of the article and which general election year it was published.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General topic * Which year was it published? Crosstabulation</th>
<th>Which year was it published?</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General topic</td>
<td>Crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The election</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School issues</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's rights</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Positive) SDs own politicians</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Negative) SDs own politicians</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDs history (fascism, nazism)</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Which year was it published?</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Cramer’s V = .248

Significance = <.001

Table 9 shows the relation between the general topic of the article, and which year it was published.

As seen in the table the years are somewhat similar, as the majority of the articles in the respective years discuss the general election. One interesting aspect of this table however is the fact that 31.5 % of the articles in 2014 discusses negative stories and/or actions of The Sweden Democrats own politicians, while only 15.9 % of the articles in 2006 discusses the
same. In 2018, there has been a slight shift in articles discussing negative stories about the party’s members, as only 21.3% of the articles discuss this topic.

This result is especially interesting when contextualizing it in relation to Cammaerts (2020:251) theory discussed in a previous chapter. Cammaerts (2020:251) argues that media coverage surrounding these types of ideologies tend to focus largely on individuals rather than the ideologies at hand, which might inadequately describe the danger of these types of ideologies.

5.2.4 Labeled x history

Table 10. This table shows the relation between the labeling of The Sweden Democrats in the general election years and if anything regarding the party's history was included in the article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How is SD labeled</th>
<th>Right wing extremists Count</th>
<th>% within Anything related to SDs history</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established</td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Anything related to SDs history</td>
<td>97.7%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within the article</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Anything related to SDs history</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within the article</td>
<td>239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Anything related to SDs history</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Cramer’s V = .652  Significance = < .001

Table 10 shows the relation between how The Sweden Democrats are labeled and if the article touches on anything related to the parties problematic history. The results of this graph might at first glance not be surprising when having taken part of the history of The Sweden Democrats, as almost all (97.7%) of the articles that discuss anything related to their history label the party as extremists.

However, the most interesting aspect of this table is the fact that in the majority of the articles that label the party as either neutral or established there is no mention of the party's history. One could wonder if the lack of mentioning their history entails a lack of understanding the danger a party like this poses to the parliament. If one would assume that Eisinger et als
(2007:22) theories surrounding labeling is true, continuing the labeling of The Sweden Democrats as ring wing extremists would entail that they’re not part of the norm in society and that their opinions are something to be vary of, disregarding if their history is mentioned in the article or not.

### 5.2.5 Year x history

Table 11. This table shows the relation between in what general election year the article was published and if it discussed anything related to the party’s history.

![Table 11](image_url)

Table 11. Cramer’s V = .160  
Significance = <.001

Table 11 shows the relation between which year an article was published and if the article mentioned anything in relation to The Sweden Democrats history.

Regardless of the year the article was presented in, the majority of the articles does not mention anything in regards to the party’s history. There is a slight difference though, as 28.6% of the articles in 2006 mention their history, while only 15.6% of the articles mention their history in 2014. This could possibly have a natural explanation, as it would be assumed in 2014 that people already are aware of the nature of the party, and are of no need to be educated on their history, whereas the party was relatively small and unknown in 2006 and people did not yet know about their history.

### 5.3 Framing analysis

All articles in the framing analysis are sampled through a purposive sampling method, as described above (Guest et al, 2013:8). The articles are sampled purposely to represent some of the interesting findings from the content analysis.
Even though the content analysis showcased a clear and absolute shift in tonality and labeling, it cannot showcase what discourse(s) is present, or what that shift actually entails. This framing analysis will discover and discuss the discourses present in relation to the findings in the content analysis.

This chapter will present two full lengths framing analyses of two different articles. The text following the analyses will present results of the full framing analysis through highlighting the most important findings. The entire framing analysis is included in the appendices.

5.3.1 Framing analysis year 2005 - church election year

“The Sweden Democrats push on in the church election” (Original: Sverigedemokraterna framåti kyrkoval) Appendix no. 9.2

Actor
As mentioned in Brüggemann & D’Angelo (2018:92), analyzing the frames surrounding the active actors in media material is of importance to understand the discourse presented in the text. An actor might be passive or active, which will impact the frames and narrative present. For example, if an actor is actively doing anything, they are an active actor, while if something is done to an actor, they are a passive one.

The main active actor in this text is one of The Sweden Democrats own politicians, Mikael Jansson. Jansson is quoted twice in this text, where he firstly comments on their, according to him, success in the church election.

In the other quote he discusses the possible explanation for their apparent success: that other parties had exhorted their voters to vote for them in the church election to ensure that The Sweden Democrats wouldn’t get voted into a position of power. Jansson is quoted saying that this had gotten the opposite of the wanted effect as the two parties' voters are somewhat overlapping. No further comment from the journalist is made, but the article rather just presents what Jansson has said.

The other active actors are Lars Friedner and Marita Ulvskog. They solely comment on the outcomes of the church election, and the article does not provide any comments or elaborations of either of their statements.

Topic
The main topic discussed in this article is the church election. This is of course of no surprise, as the event this specific year touched on was the church election. Some mention of the upcoming general election is also mentioned, as the church election often is seen as an indication or a stepping stone into the parliament. The general election is mentioned in this article as a measurement for how the outcome in the general election might look. Overall, there is no mention of other topics other than the two elections in this article.
Tonality
The tonality of this article is highly linked, or due to, the main topic of this article. The overall narrative of the article seemingly is just presenting the results in the church election, and including statements from two of the spokespersons of the two parties that received mandates in the church election, The Sweden Democrats and Socialdemokraterna (who are interestingly enough on the opposite side of the political spectrum). Given that the article simply presents the results of the church election without applying any value words of own reflections of the results, the overall tonality of the article is neutral.

Labeling
The labeling of the party is explicitly stated in the subheadline of the article, where they are described as right wing extremists, “högerextrema Sverigedemokraterna” (Appendix no 8.2).

As mentioned above, the way labeling is used in this specific paper is also through categorization and differentiation in relation to other parties in the same context. Throughout the article The Sweden Democrats is categorized as “others” in relation to other more established parties in the parliament. Example: “In order to keep The Sweden Democrats at bay all the established parties have to make clear statements that this party isn’t like the others” (Appendix no 8.2).

In relation to this categorization, following the statement above is a statement that clumps The Sweden Party together with other right wing extreme parties, which further establishes the labeling of the party in this article.

Thus, the labeling of The Sweden Democrats in this article is right wing extremists. This is of interest, as mentioned above, the tonality of the article as a neutral one that mostly states facts. Thus, this labeling is perceived as facts rather than the sole opinion of the journalist.

Their history
There is no mention of the party’s history in any way in this article. It is hinted throughout the article that they are not an established party as the rest of the parties in either the parliament or church election, but there is no further explanation for why.

The discourse(s) present
The discourse and frames present in this article is a neutral reporting on the results in the church election, where some actors of some parties got to tell their reaction to the results. This neutral tonality towards the results are of interest, as the labeling of the party then is also presented as facts and reason rather than speculation or opinions of the journalist. Given that The Sweden Democrats are labeled as right wing extremists in an article such as this is an indicator that they were not yet normalized in society, and that they were viewed as “the others” in this specific context.
5.3.2 Framing analysis year 2014 - general election year

“The Alliance closes in: It is serious” - Aftonbladet (Appendix no 9.7)
Original: “Alliansen tar in: Är allvar”

Actor

There are multiple active actors in this article, most of whom are party leaders of the biggest parties in the parliament. Among those are Stefan Löfven (S), Fredrik Reinfeldt (M) and Annie Lööf (C). Further a spokesperson from an organization measuring the public opinion surrounding the different political parties, Felix Åberg, is an active actor.

The active actors all comment on the public opinion and predictions for the upcoming election that spawned the headline for this article: that the alliance (then consisting of Moderaterna, Centerpartiet, Kristdemokraterna and Folkpartiet (now called Liberalerna)), seemingly are filling the gap in votes for the upcoming general election. They are unrelated to one another, and solely comment on their own parties’ progress.

Felix Åberg, the case expert on the new public opinion, commented on the new predicaments for the upcoming election, without being biased either way.

Topic

The main topic this article presents is the new predicaments for the upcoming elections. Everything written in this article touches on this topic, and no other topic is brought up anywhere in the article. The topic of the general election is also discussed with an uncertainty of how the political climate will be after the election. This as the political climate at this time was generally shaky, for a lack of a better word, and the previous certainty of the strong political blocks were slowly but surely deteriorating. The Alliance had previously been strong and certain of their place in the parliament, and certain of the other parties within the alliances’ support. However, in 2014, cracks in the clear blocks had begun to show, as the red-green-parties (Socialdemokraterna, Västerpartied and Miljöpartiet) had grown all the more strong.

Tonality

The overall tonality in this article is neutral. No specific value words are being used when presenting the facts of the topic, and everything discussed or presented in the article is done so in a matter-of-fact-manner rather than an argumentative way, thus making the tonality neutral.

Labeling

What’s prominent in this article in regards to the labeling of The Sweden Democrats is the lack of labeling through words at all. The party is solely mentioned together with another party, Feministiskt Initiativ (FI), where it’s mentioned that both of those parties seemingly have lost voters in the new predicaments.
I would argue, however, that this loss of words in regards to the labeling are synonymous with their acceptance into the parliament, and thus acceptance in regarding the discourses’ and contexts’ norms. The party is clumped together with another accepted party, as well as being linked to the more established parties without any type of differentiating factor. The fact that they are presented in the article at all, together with the more established parties, are telling of the acceptance this party has gone through in our society. And given the definition of labeling this study follows, which is presented above under definitions, the party being categorized together with the established parties of the parliament, they are being labeled as such as well.

**Their history**
Given that The Sweden Democrats only is presented in one small paragraph in the text that mentions they’re seeming loss of voters according to the new predicaments, there are no mentions of their problematic history in the article.

This might not be of any surprise though, as I previously argued that the narrative and labeling presented of the party is an established one. Any mention of their history in relation to this type of narrative would be borderline shocking, given the context the party was created in. This analysis clearly aligns with the findings in the content analysis regarding mentioning of their history and labeling in 2014 as well.

**The discourse(s) present**
In conclusion, the discourses present in this article are discourses surrounding the predicaments for the upcoming election, and an overall uncertainty of how the political climate will be after the general election. The discourse also presents an overall acceptance of The Sweden Democrats’ ideologies, as they are presented as a natural part of this discussion in the parliament. As seen, there has been an immense shift in acceptance and narratives surrounding the acceptance of the party in just a few years. Of course there might be a natural explanation. The Sweden Democrats had already grown to become a rather big party, and they were indeed an active player in this parliament. However, as discussed in the content analysis, their problematic history has not changed, and one could argue that it is as important as ever to discuss this with the readers in the newspapers, in order to not forget what the party stems from. That being said, the discourse present, in regarding the labeling of the party, in this article is an accepting one where they are presented as part of the established parties.

5.3.3 Results in the framing analysis for the church election years
The most interesting finding in the framing analysis is that the party has gone from being clearly labeled as right wing extremists, towards gradually being more and more accepted in the discourse, and eventually being generally labeled as established.
As stated, in the earlier years, the discourse surrounding the party’s ideological views have not yet been accepted as the norm in society. They are depicted and labeled as “the other” in the earlier discourses, regardless of the overall tonality and regardless of topic.
In relation to this, in the later years, there is increasing acceptance of the party’s ideologies up to the point where it is fully accepted in the present discourse. Not only are they seen as the norm, but they are presented as a necessity in order to create a fully functioning parliament. This might of course be linked to the shift in the parliament described above, where the parliament went through an unstable period and were in need of stability and would accept it from those who were previously seen as “the others”. This is clearly visible in the article from 2021 (appendix no 9.4), where The Sweden Democrats’ leader Åkesson is included in a picture, while other party leaders are left out. This truly showcases not only their importance in this specific political climate, but the normalization of their ideology in this specific context. And despite Ekström et als (2020:479) and Bergh and Kärnäs (2021:53) findings regarding how populism presents itself in regards to both specifically The Sweden Democrats and right wing parties in general, there were no clear findings of this type in these discourses.

Another interesting aspect of the findings for this church election years is that the articles discuss the results and predictions for the church election in a neutral re-telling fashion, and thus presenting the articles contents as objective facts. In the article from 2005 (appendix no. 9.2), the party is labeled as right wing extremists as a fact, rather than an opinion, which makes the statement more forceful and believable. Given that this statement is based on their history and ideology, one could wonder why this labeling doesn’t follow the party throughout their political rampage.

To conclude this segment, the discourses in the consecutive church election years have gone from journalists being highly critical of the party and labeling them as right wing extremists along with presenting the party’s history to the audience, to a neutral or positive discourse surrounding the necessity to include the party in the parliament. The Sweden Democrats have seemingly become normalized in society in just a few odd years, and that is clearly visible through these frames.

5.3.4 Results in the framing analysis for the general election years

The findings in the general election years showed, just like the findings in the church election years, that the earlier years labeled The Sweden Democrats as right wing extremists, and framed it as stating facts, rather than presenting the journalists opinion. And again, this showed that the party had yet to become normalized in this specific discourse.
However, the most interesting, or possibly concerning, finds in the framing analysis, is the discourse in the Appendix 9.9. This article discusses previous scandals, amongst those are scandals of some political actors in The Sweden Democrats. This is interesting as Cammaerts' (2020:251) mentions how right wing- and fascist-parties historically have used traditional media channels to normalize their party by making problematic ideologies seem like individual issues rather than structural issues within the party. The findings in this framing analysis show that this is indeed what is happening in this specific discourse. This study obviously cannot provide any insight to whether or not The Sweden Democrats encouraged this or not, but the outcome remains the same. The blame for this scandal, which included some of their candidates having a history of being part of nazi-related organisations, are directed towards the individuals, rather than framing it as it is: a structural issue that re-appears throughout the years. Further, reporting on this scandal would provide the journalists with an easy transition to mention the history of the party, and through that remind the public of what kind of party The Sweden Democrats actually is. Given that this did not happen, I would argue that the party, and their history, had at this point become so normalized in society that the journalist did not feel the need to bring it up. The reason for this finding being of such interest stems from the likeness of the cases that Cammaerts’ (2020:251) mentions in his paper. He mentions that ideologies in the past have been able to become normalized through diverting issues towards individuals rather than towards problematic ideologies, and thus gaining power and eventually creating a society which follows an ideology that does not care for everyone's human rights. The fact that the findings in this analysis are similar to those historical facts are of course incredibly discerning.

In relation to this, another frame which is interesting, just like in the findings in the church election years, is who is presented as an active actor in the later years. One aspect that demonstrates a need for clarity and stability in the later years is the fact that multiple experts within their respective fields are included in the articles sampled from 2014. This need for stability might, as stated above, shed some light to how this party became normalized in the media and viewed as a necessity in the parliament, as including them might bring some much needed stability. These findings might also shed some light to the political landscape in general at this specific point, as it was in the midst of a huge change with the different political blocks being broken up. Whatever the reason may be, it is interesting as it shows that theories such as Eisinger et als (2007:22) who mentioned that news articles usually mimic the discourse it’s presented in can be applied to this context as well. It further justifies that the
findings in regards to the normalization in the news articles are a visual of the political landscape and/or societal norms.

The framing analysis further showed a decrease of articles who solely discuss The Sweden Democrats. While in the earlier years the wrongdoings or ideologies of The Sweden Democrats were discussed in articles, they are rarely discussed on their own in the later years. This is most likely, again, related to the fact that they are seen as a necessity in the parliament, and that they have gained a natural position as an established party, rather than being a strange party on the outskirts of politics. They are, in the later years, thus included in “us”, rather than being part of the strange “other”, and thus gaining less individual attention. This is also telling of how these frames have helped normalize the party as a whole. Just like in the discourses found in the church election years, there were no discourses that are normally found in research surrounding right wing parties in relation to populism in the general election years.

Although this study does not aim to showcase differences between the media outlets analyzed, or to showcase differences between specifically church election years and general election years, it is interesting to note that regardless of which media outlet or which type of election being discussed, the findings conjointly align and shows a gradual acceptance and normalization of the party through labeling, topic and tonality.
6. Discussion & conclusion

Although the two methods used analyzed the same material, the outcome of the methods are vastly different. The content analysis provided insight to the fact that there has been a shift in the frames used, while the framing analysis showed how those shifts presented themselves in the articles as well as the discourse(s) those frames created. This chapter will present the implications of the results presented above, as well as reach a conclusion for what the results in this study actually entails.

6.1 Findings in the content analysis

It’s prominent from the findings in the content analysis that the labeling, tonality and topics surrounding The Sweden Democrats have gradually changed from 2005 to 2021. This is prominent regardless if it’s a general election year or a church election year. However, as compelling the results of the content analysis might seem, it is important to note that the political climate in the Swedish parliament went through a large shift between 2005 and 2021. In the earlier years of the study, there was a clear divide between the two sides, with Alliansen (the alliance) on the right hand side which consisted of Moderaterna, Centerpartiet, Liberalerna (then called Folkpartiet) as well as Kristdemokraterna, and Rödgröna (The red and green) on the left hand side, which consisted of Socialdemokraterna, Miljöpartiet and Vänsterpartiet. This is of importance to note, as these clear blocks made it less likely for other, not so prominent, parties to be a necessity in the parliament, as the established parties were in strong co-operations with each other. It further alienated any outsider party, as they naturally were seen as “an other”, and not part of the more prominent parties.

This might give somewhat of a natural explanation of the incredibly prominent shift in labeling and tonality towards The Sweden Democrats, as they went from being non-established outsiders of the two prominent blocks, to being more included when the blocks ceased to exist in 2010. What could further contribute to this prominent shift is the fact that The Sweden Democrats went from being a small party with extreme opinions in relation to the more prominent parties in the parliament, to one of the largest in just a few years. The explanation for this shift might thus be that the shift is a natural response to their rise in power, especially considering Eisinger et al.s (2007:22) theory regarding journalists mimicking the society and discourse in which they are active. As they gradually have gained
more power, they’ve gradually been seen as established, for the simple reason that they became one of the established parties.

However, what complicates that reasoning is the fact that the party’s history and ideology have not changed with their rise to power. The party’s problematic, a.k.a xenophobic and fascist, past is still as prominent as it was before they got chosen into parliament. And one could further argue that it’s as important as ever for news organizations to problematize and conceptualize the history of this party to the public the more power they gain.

Alas, the shift having a natural explanation doesn’t shun from the fact that it’s problematic in the sense of disregarding important historical aspects of the parties that we, the society, choose to guide and lead our country. Drawing from Ekström et als (2020:206) and Hanitzsch et al (2018:7) theories surrounding journalists and their obligations to society, one could argue that it’s their professional duty to inform the public of the implications of choosing a party such as their into a position of power. And if one would assume that these theories are in fact correct, journalists are contributing to normalizing The Sweden Democrats into society, and thus corroborating the idea that opinions such as theirs are acceptable in a democratic society. What’s especially discerning with this information is that this aligns with Cammaerts (2020:242) arguments of how fascist parties historically have gained their power. As seen in his study, the media, in a broader sense, have contributed with the normalization of fascist theories to the extent that they eventually become the norm in society. Whether this is through shifting the narrative towards individuals being problematic rather than the party’s ideology, or by The Sweden Democrats being naturally integrated into society through the public sphere, the outcome remains the same. As Cammaerts (2020:242) states that history by the looks of it continues to repeat itself in relation to the right of right wing ideologies, by the looks of it, the rise of a previously known repugnant ideology is on the verge of being socially accepted once more. 

Lastly, if one would assume that the shift in labeling, topic and tonality does have a natural explanation one could wonder why it was of importance to question and report on The Sweden Democrats’ past before they were chosen, or even considered, into the parliament, and not now, when they are more powerful than ever. I would argue that it is now, more than ever, important to raise these issues and question the, at the very least, problematic and quite frankly dangerous history of The Sweden Democrats.
6.2 Findings in the framing analysis

It’s prominent in the findings in the framing analysis that the discourse has shifted from the earlier years to the later years, regardless of which election is analyzed. The party has gradually become normalized through labeling, topic and tonality present in the articles.

The fact that the frames used when discussing the party have become less and less confrontational of The Sweden Democrats history and ideology might not seem either surprising or alarming. The normalization of their party has followed their political journey, and as mentioned above, they have become normalized gradually as they became a prominent party. And drawing from theories described above, Eisinger et al (2007:22) states that labeling in news media often follows norms and societal happenings.

The issue, however, does not lie in the fact that the journalists seemingly mimic the political landscape present in the context they exist in. The issue rather lies in the fact that the party seemingly isn’t questioned as they once were. The history of the party has not changed, and their ideology and xenophobia also remains the same. And further given that multiple theories still pinpoint the power that journalists have, this acceptance or normalization of an ideology such as The Sweden Democrats’ in established newspapers is alarming (Forchtner et al, 2019:205). In relation to this, future research might find interest in researching the process of journalistic reporting, and the mindset of the journalists framing these types of ideologies as part of the norm. Researching the actual process of balancing the ethical paradox mentioned above might shed some light on how this normalization takes form in newspapers, and eventually how to change it, if deemed necessary.

However, this study does not aim to provide any insight to what impact traditional media has on its audience, but given the extensive research stating that traditional media have been known to normalize fascist ideologies into the new “common sense” rather than problematizing these ideologies might hint to why the results of the study is worrying (Cammaerts, 2020:242). Theories from authors such as Vliegenhart et al (2012:316) corroborate the theories mentioned above, as they state that media historically have had an impact on the rise of right wing ideologies. These theories, again, cannot provide any further insight to the impact that the media has had on the normalization, but they can provide an insight to the importance of changing the media coverage surrounding The Sweden Democrats. Vliegenhart et al (2012:316) states that traditional media and newspapers have
the power to give legitimacy to these types of parties, as well as place these parties into a new context outside of their normal existence, and thus expose them to a new audience who might not know about their problematic past or present.

What’s prominent from the framing analysis however, is that the findings align with Cammaerts (2020:251) theories surrounding how right wing ideologies have been presented in other contexts. In relation to this, the most interesting finding in the framing analysis is the fact that the labeling and discussion surrounding the party’s mishaps follow Cammaerts (2020:251) theories of making structural issues individual ones in newspapers. Throughout all years analyzed in this study, mishaps, or even illegal activities, from many political actors from The Sweden Democrats have been discussed and presented to be the issue of a single lunatic, rather than a systematic issue that it seems to be when analyzing all of these happenings in a bulk. In relation to this, no clear connection between Bergh and Kärnä (2021:53) definition of populistic right wing parties have been found in the framing analysis. The findings do align with some of the findings found in Ekström et al (2020:480) regarding how The Sweden Democrats seemingly have become more normalized in other contexts and with other data. Given that Ekström et als (2020:480) study also showed similar results, one could argue that The Sweden Democrats have gradually become normalized in the media. This does not necessarily mean that news media is the sole reason, or even main reason, for this result, but it is interesting that despite the type of data, the results are similar.

The findings of both the content analysis and the framing analysis are even more interesting when applying the theories regarding journalists' ethical duty of providing the audiences with information which will impact the society they live in. Journalists have an obligation to provide their society with accurate information about the people who the public choose to lead their country, and I would argue that the findings in this study showcases a failure on the journalist's part (Hanitzch et al, 2018:7). However, what makes this an interesting paradox is that journalists simultaneously have an obligation to represent all ideologies in the present parliament. Although one could understand that the frames used in the articles, more specifically the ones in the later years, follow norms in society, the question is, when is it enough? How many nazi-related activities can the elected politicians take part in before the journalists label them for what they actually historically, and one could argue presently, are: right wing extremists? And if theories from Ekström et al (2020:206), Hanitzsch et al (2018:7) and Forchtner et al (2019:206) is deemed right, journalists from big newspapers
have significant power to influence their audience, when are we, the public, in position to demand different frames to be presented in relation to extremism?

In conclusion, even though this paper cannot answer to which type of media lay grounds for the normalization of The Sweden Democrats, it is clear to say that they have become normalized in our public sphere, if one would assume the theories surrounding journalists to be correct. Their previously seen as extreme ideologies and dangerous history have instead become part of the norm, and they are now seen as a necessity to the Swedish parliament. Further, this study cannot answer how they have been normalized, nor how to stop this normalization for the upcoming 2022 election in Sweden, but it does show that the media are capable of providing the audience with facts surrounding this extreme party, as they did in 2005 and 2006, but have chosen not to do so. And according to the theories presented in this paper, journalists do possess the power to impact and influence their audience. Thus, it is more important than ever to inform and educate the audience of the dangerous history of The Sweden Democrats, in order to attempt to break the pattern of allowing right wing extremists in power.
7. References


8. Appendices

8.1 Coding scheme

(1). What newspaper is the article from?

(2). Date.

(3). What is the overall tonality in the article?

(4) What is the general topic in the article?
2. Immigration.
3. Economy.
4. Environment.
5. Elderly care.
6. The election.
7. School issues.
8. Rape or sexual assault.
9. Women's rights.
10. (Positive) SDs own politicians.
11. (Negative) SDs own politicians.
12. SDs nazi past.
13. Church election.
14. Terrorism

(5). Does the article cover anything crime-related?
1. Yes 2. No

(6). Does the article cover anything immigration-related?
1. Yes 2. No

(7). Does the article cover anything economy-related?
1. Yes 2. No

(8). Does the article cover anything environment-related?
1. Yes 2. No
(9). Does the article cover anything elderly care-related?
   1. Yes 2. No

(10). Does the article cover anything related to the general election?
   1. Yes 2. No

(11). Does the article cover anything education-related?
   1. Yes 2. No

(12). Does the article cover anything sexual misconduct-related?
   1. Yes 2. No

(13). Does the article cover anything related to women’s rights?
   1. Yes 2. No

(14). Does the article cover anything related to the party's own politicians in a positive way?
   1. Yes 2. No

(15). Does the article cover anything related to the party's own politicians in a negative way?
   1. Yes 2. No

(16). Does the article cover anything related to the party’s problematic history (nazism, fascism, racism etc)?
   2. Yes 2. No

(17). Does the article cover anything related to the church election?
   1. Yes 2. No

(18). Does the article cover anything related to terrorism?
   1. Yes 2. No

(19). Who is the active actor in the article?
   1. The party’s own politicians.
   2. Other politicians.
   3. The journalist themself.
5. No active actors

(20). Is any of the party’s politicians an active actor?
   1. Yes 2. No

(21). Is another politician an active actor?
   1. Yes 2. No

(22). Is the journalist an active actor?
   1. Yes 2. No

(23). Are a general/several general citizens active actors?
   1. Yes 2. No

(24). How is the party labeled?
   1. Ring wing extremists 2. Established 3. Neutral

(25). What year was it published?
8.2 Article from 2005

Sverigedemokraterna framåt i kyrkoval

2005-09-19 12:22


/vss/myheter/story/0,2789,70139,00.html

© Aftonbladet

8.3 Article from 2013

SD storsatsar med dömda kandidater

Flera kontroversiella toppnamn när partiet hoppas på större makt i Svenska kyrkan

Sverigedemokraterna storsatsar och hoppas förbättra sina mässing i kyrkohuset. För partiet är valet också något av en sprängbrädga inför supervalet 2014.

Expressens kartläggning visar att flera av partiets toppkandidater är kontroversiella – där finns bratte-dömda, bloggare som skyllde andra behöriga brövriks terrorrisk på massmediavindrungen och en präst som tycker att Svenska kyrkan ”kiddnappte” av den ”homoseksuella rörelsen”.

– Radikala grupper kidnappar kyrkan för sina inträden, säger SD-kandidaten Axel W Karlsson.

Jimmie Åkesson understirik i sin sommarresa i Söder- gards den 24 augusti tänkte att partiet såg sig också vara med som en av sina kandidater.

– Socialismen och liberalismen under de senaste decennierna har dragit sina klara alltid-djupare i kyrkan. Det märks genom att denna för samhällskrigen inte kan bli ett verkligt stöd på det nuvarande organet.

Svenska kyrkan några bestående organ. Målet är att få fler liberala repre- sentanter och för det har partiet utsett avsett en halv miljon kronor för valkam- pågen.

Provar nytt


– Vi arbetar med ett nytt valkampanjehänder.

SD går i martsatt riktning

Medan flera andra partier alltmer tar sig ur kyrkohuset väljer SD att gå i respekt för valet.

Partiet har i dagens led- nande i kyrkohuset, som är

Ny mobilaj!”

”FÅ KÖPA DET SENASTE TRYCKVALET!”

Sverigedemokraterna


– SD:s kandidater kan rösta på två valkampanjehänder.

sd.se
8.4 Article from 2021

Fördel S – trots den rödgröna jätteröran

VIKTOR BARTH-KRON: Om Annie Lööf öppnar den stängda dörren högerisker hon inte bara en svekdebatt


Sverige på topplisten – 7:e bäst betyg

Sveriges coronahastighet stiger i anseende. Den kommer på sjunde plats av de 60 länder, enligt en internationell korbklassering. Förra året hörde Sverige på plats 15.

Omgivningen ansåg att Sveriges hastighet var för hög, och några länder har påbörjat en ny, mer effektivt ledning av coronakrisen. Detta ger Sverige en bättre placering på topplisten.

Sveriges stora medier har också stött uppräkningen, och det har lett till en ökning av Sveriges internationella drivkraft. Detta ger Sverige en bättre placering på topplisten.
8.5 Article from 2006. “För hatade för riksdagen”

**EXPRESSEN**

**För hatade för riksdagen**

2006-06-03

Sverigedemokraterna har för första gången en reell chans att ta steget mot Helge...

De har ekonomin för att genomföra en någorlunda rikstäckande kampanj. De har valsedelsdistribution ombesörjd genom valmyndigheten. De har lokala valistor i uppmot 100 kommuner, och fler tillkommer.

Samtidigt står de själva som hinder för ett genombröt på riksnivå.

I år har sverigedemokraterna lyckats få spinn i medierna, framför allt kring diverse mätningar av ungdomars sympati för partiet. Men det är inte samma sak som att få ett genomslag i riksdagsvalet.

Partiet har satsat på egenhändigt finansierade Sifoundersökningar under våren. Frågeställningen har varit om personen i fråga "skulle kunna tänka sig" att rösta på partiet. Första mätningen gav fyra procent, en andra gång kom de upp i sju procent. Detta är långt ifrån vad som krävs för att ha minsta suck i valets slutskede. Runt var fjärde som svarar ja på den frågan håller sitt ord vid valurnan, inte fler.

Sedan var det den lilla saken med den ideologiska grunden. Sverigedemokraterna hävdar att de rensat upp i leden av nazister och kriminala galningar, som var partiets grundstomme för inte särskilt länge sedan.

Men de sätter konstant krobben på sig själva. Redan nu har man på partiets listor funnit gamla nazister och personer med långa straffregister. Det ökar knappast förtroendet hos väljarkåren.

Det enda som har förbättrats är fasaden, där det hela tiden uppstår två nya sprickor när den senaste lagats. I S:s drömvärld återfinns inte invandrare, gräsrötterna i partiet vill ha ett etniskt och kulturellt homogent Sverige som det hette i partiprogrammet fram tills för något år sedan.


Sverigedemokraterna stod för första gången utan konkurrens om sina kärnväljare.

Partiet kommer med stor säkerhet växa även i årets val, framför allt i södra delarna av landet där partiet etablerat sig på rättigt.

Men vi pratar fortfarande om ett parti där läsningen på alla samhällsproblem är att kasta ut invandrarna. Väljaren är smartare än så.

Problemet för partiet har också varit dess ointresse och okunskap om kommunalpolitik. Mängder med motioner som partiet producerat centralt under den senaste mandatperioden har kasserats med hänsyn till att det är frågor som kommunen inte har någon bestämmanderätt över.
8.6 Article from 2006

Jokrar utan flyt

2006-09-13 09:36

STÖRST AV DE SMÅ Sverigedemokraterna dominerar stort bland partierna utanför riksdagen. Men ännu har partiet långt kvar till fyraprocentsspärren. Foto: MAGNUS TORLE Foto: GUNNAR SEIJBOLD Foto: HENRY LUNDHOLM Foto:


Kopplade greppet Men det var innan den borgerliga alliansen kontra regeringen Persson kopplade greppet om den politiska agenda. - Den andra faktorn är att småpartierna tar ut varann, säger Peter Esaiasson. Han varnar dock riksdagspartierna för att andas ut inför hotet underifrån.


Utskriftsdatum: Webadress: http://www.aftonbladet.se/vss/val2006/story/0,2789,886802,00.html
8.7 Article from 2014
8.8 Article from 2014

Alliansen tar initiativ till avlägsning av allvar.

Folket har avtäckt att det inte kan vara "allvar" att något som har funnits i mer än 1000 år. Alliansen har nu startat en driftig förändring, vilket

65
8.9 Article from 2018

Minns du de politiska skandalerna?

Sverigedemokraterna: Kandalbrottet

I augusti delade riksdagsledamoten Hand fast (Ny) en bild på sig själv i sociala medier med fyllt vapen och texten "Hand & Död är det" av " PRESS F o s t e r D h u" (Tytans E i t t ä f f t e ä b t 2 0 1 8 ) . Hand ville att bildmaterialet skulle ta sig av sig själv av en automobilist i njur sankt och att det skulle förekomma på ett magasinet. Detta ledde till en kritik av Socialdemokraterna.

Socialdemokraterna: Folkhälsoböjle

Folkhälsoböjlen:s pressmeddelande från 2018:

"I dag presenterar Folkhälsoböjlen ett nytt pressmeddelande om att en medarbetare har testat positivt på coronavärdet. Vi lever upp till de internationella rekommendationerna och rekommenderar alla medarbetare att vara extra övertygande i sin smittskyddstillstånd."

Ett stort antal människor delat det medarbetarens information och påpekat att det bör ha fungerat som ett berättande frågesformulär. Detta ledde till en kritik av Socialdemokraterna.

Vidare hävdade de att folkhälsoböjlet genom detta ansågs att ha påverkat den allmänna vänligheten och att det var viktigt att göra det omedelbart avklart.

Som illustrerande exempel på detta framförde Socialdemokraterna en tidigare konferens rapport där de meddelade att en medarbetare hade testat positivt på corona. Denna meddelande ansågs av Socialdemokraterna som ett missbruk av de internationella rekommendationerna.

Socialdemokraterna rekommenderade att alla medarbetare skulle rapportera sina testresultat och att Folkhälsoböjlen skulle ta emot dessa rapporter och ställa ut dem på ett bristläge.

I ett pressmeddelande från Socialdemokraterna uttryckte de sin oro och betonade att det var viktigt att Souls ställer på sig begreppet och att Socialdemokraterna kommer att ta de nödvändiga åtgärderna.

Klimat- och energibyte

I en intervju med Socialdemokraterna framstod att det viktigaste är att minska klimatutsläppen och att samtidigt öka energieffektiviteten. Socialdemokraterna menade att det är viktigt att samarbeta med andra partier för att få fram en stark och ambitiös klimatförordning.

Detta ledde till en kritik av Socialdemokraterna från andra partier, som framförallt Konsumentpartiet, som betonade att det var viktigt att samarbeta med andra partier för att få fram en stark och ambitiös klimatförordning.

Socialdemokraterna rekommenderade att det är viktigt att samarbeta med andra partier för att få fram en stark och ambitiös klimatförordning. De uppmanade även att de andra partier skulle komma med egna förslag och att Socialdemokraterna skulle ta emot dessa och diskutera dem med andra partier.
8.10 Article from 2018

Maktbåt i natt mellan Kristersson och Löfven

Stort i natt blådanke Stefan Löfven och Ulf Kristersson om vem som ska ha det bästa av båda regeringar efter valet.

Att Artikel 8.10 av riksdagen avsåger en ny regering innebär att det finns en del av Anneli Tornblom som står för att det inte ska vara Löfven och Kristersson.

''Det skulle inte vara en teaterafton med det, det skulle vara en del av regeringen ... det ska vara en del av regeringen ... det ska vara en del av regeringen ... det ska vara en del av regeringen ...''

Men med delegationen av försvarande är det svårt att se hur det ska gå vidare. Men med delegationen av försvarande är det svårt att se hur det ska gå vidare. Men med delegationen av försvarande är det svårt att se hur det ska gå vidare. Men med delegationen av försvarande är det svårt att se hur det ska gå vidare.
8.11 Framing analysis - Article from 2005
“This Sweden Democrats push on in the church election” (Original: Sverigedemokraterna framåt i kyrkoval) Appendix no. 9.2

Actor
As mentioned in Brüggemann & D’Angelo (2018:92), analyzing the frames surrounding the active actors in media material is of importance to understand the discourse presented in the text. An actor might be passive or active, which will impact the frames and narrative present. For example, if an actor is actively doing anything, they are an active actor, while if something is done to an actor, they are a passive one.

The main active actor in this text is one of The Sweden Democrats own politicians, Mikael Jansson. Jansson is quoted twice in this text, where he firstly comments on their, according to him, success in the latest poll regarding church election.

In the other quote he discusses the possible explanation for their apparent success: that other parties had exhorted their voters to vote for them in the church election to ensure that The Sweden Democrats wouldn’t get voted into a position of power. Jansson is quoted saying that this had gotten the opposite of the wanted effect as the two parties’ voters are somewhat overlapping and support both parties. No further comment from the journalist is made, but the article rather just presents what Jansson has said.

The other active actors are Lars Friedner and Marita Ulvskog. They also solely comment on the outcomes of the church election, and the article does not provide any comments or elaborations of either of their statements.

Topic
The main topic discussed in this article is the church election. This is of course of no surprise, as the event this specific year touched on was the church election. Some mention of the upcoming general election is also mentioned, as the church election often is seen as an indication or a stepping stone into the parliament. The general election is mentioned in this article in just that way, as a measurement for how the outcome in the general election might look. Overall, there is no mention of other topics other than the two elections in this article.

Tonality
The tonality of this article is highly linked, or due to, the main topic of this article, the church election. The overall narrative and im of the article seemingly is just presenting the results in the church election, and including statements from two of the spokespersons of the two parties that received mandates in the church election, The Sweden Democrats and Socialdemokraterna (who are interestingly enough on the opposite side of the political spectrum). Given that the article simply presents the results of the church election without applying any value words of own reflections of the results, the overall tonality of the article is neutral.
Labeling
The labeling of the party is explicitly stated in the subheadline of the article, where they are described as right wing extremists, “högerextrema Sverigedemokraterna” (Appendix no 8.2).

As mentioned above, the way labeling is used in this specific paper is also through categorization and differentiation in relation to other parties in the same context. Throughout the article The Sweden Democrats is categorized as “others” in relation to the general election and other more established parties in the parliament. Example: “In order to keep The Sweden Democrats at bay all the established parties have to make clear statements that this party isn’t like the others” (Appendix no 8.2).

In relation to this categorization, following the statement above is a statement that clumps The Sweden Party together with other right wing extremists parties, which further establishes the labeling of the party in this article.

Thus, the labeling of The Sweden Democrats in this article is as right wing extremists. This is of interest, as mentioned above, the tonality of the article as a neutral one that mostly states facts. Thus, this labeling is perceived as facts rather than the sole opinion of the journalist, for example.

Their history
There is no mention of the party’s history in any way in this article. It is hinted throughout the article that they are not an established party as the rest of the parties in the parliament or church election, but there is no further explanation for why.

The discourse(s) present
The discourse and frames present in this article is a neutral reporting on the results in the church election, where some actors of some parties got to tell their reaction to the results.
This neutral tonality towards the results are of interest, as the labeling of the party then is also presented as facts and reason rather than speculation or opinions of the journalist. Given that The Sweden Democrats are labeled as right wing extremists in an article such as this is an indicator that they were not yet normalized in society, and that they were viewed as “the others” in this specific context.
8.12 Framing analysis - Article from 2013
“SD goes for it with convicted candidates” (Original: SD storsatsar med dömda kandidater)
Appendix no. 9.3

Actor
There are several active actors in this article, all of whom are politicians in The Sweden Democrats, there amongst the party’s leader Jimmie Åkesson. All the active actors discuss, for the party, important notions to why they should be chosen to gain more power in the church election, and argue that the church is going in the wrong direction by for example accepting socialism and liberalism into the church. All of the quotes are thus complaints of how the current ruling of the church is being made, and how it can be changed if The Sweden Democrats gets the majority of the power over the church.

Topic
The main topic in this article is the church election. As mentioned above, all the active actors discuss this topic, and their quotes are the main text in this article.

One interesting notion however is that the headline of this article discusses a different topic, which is the fact that many of those who are at top positions in The Sweden Democrats are convicted of something, or that many of those in the party have been exposed to having extreme opinions in various places on social media. For example, in the beginning of the article it is mentioned that some of the politicians have made excuses for Anders Behring Breivik, who committed a terrorist attack in Norway, and that they are against homosexual movements, whatever that entails. The mentioning of these controversial statements, as they are mentioned in the article, does not get brought up again in the article, and are merely mentioned in the beginning, not making this the main topic of the article.

Tonality
The tonality of this article is neutral. This as, despite the mentioning of the controversial statements in the beginning, the article mainly presents the politicians views regarding their stance on the church election. And despite the headline stating that there are convicted people candidating for the church elections, there is no value in the statement, rather just a re-telling of facts, thus making the tonality neutral.

Labeling
Nowhere in this article is there any type of either direct labeling of the party, or any labeling in the form of categorizing or differentiating the party towards any direction. As stated above, the article is solely reporting on the party’s own views on them running in the church election, and a slight mention of individuals actions for some of the politicians. There is a mention of the fact that the party goes against the tactics of other parties in the election, but this is solely reporting on the fact that few other parties are giving much thought on the church election. The labeling of the party is thus neutral.
Their history
There is no mention of any kind of history in this article. Neither is there any allusion to a hint of their history either. If anything, there is a distancing of any type of extremism, as one of the politicians in the party cited, in bold text, saying that radical groups are taking over the church, and thus differentiating the party from extremist groups.

The discourse(s) present
The discourse and frame present in this article are an overall neutral re-telling and reporting on the politicians views on the party’s tactic in the upcoming church election. Although there is a slight mention of some problematic behavior of some of the politicians of the party, this is not elaborated on, and is rather presented as some individual issues, rather than something linked to the party itself. One interesting aspect of this is the fact that the “controversial politicians” mentioned in the articles are seen as individuals who have done wrong, and that their views are not reflective of the entire party, which aligns with Cammaerts’ (2020:251) theory regarding the acceptance of fascist ideologies in the media. This discourse might thus allude to the fact that the ideology of this party is becoming part of the norm, and is on their way, if not already, normalized in this specific discourse.
8.13 Framing analysis - Article from 2021

“Advantage to S - despite the red-green mess” (Original: Fördel S - trots den röd-gröna jätteröran). Appendix no. 8.4

Actor
The active actor in this article is the journalist, who presents their views on the current political landscape in Sweden. They discuss how different party leaders might act if they want a functioning parliament, thus making some of the political leaders, there amongst Jimmie Åkesson, passive actors in this article.

Topic
The main topic in this article is the upcoming general election, and the overall difficult parliamentary situation Sweden faces. The article also discusses the problem that each party in the parliament faces in the upcoming general election. Further, the journalists describe what would happen if different parties would do certain things, which furthers the understanding of using the old saying from Carl Bildt “Röd-grön jätteröra”, the red-green super mess. This saying was made by the then minister of foreign affairs, when describing a previous political situation which seemed unsolvable. So the main, and only, topic is the upcoming general election, and the problem the parties face leading up to it.

Tonality
The tonality of this article is a negative one, as the journalists proceed to discuss all the negative outcomes or happenings in relation to the political parties. The journalist starts off by describing the situation as a chaotic childrens party, and proceeds throughout the article describing the situation in similar negative fashion. The tonality is however not negative towards The Sweden Democrats, but rather negative towards the entire political landscape in Sweden, which the party seemingly has a natural place in.

Labeling
The labeling of The Sweden Democrats is not plainly written in this, but rather as a categorizing one as described under “academic notions”. In this article, The Sweden Democrats is not only described as a necessity in order to make the political landscape functional, but they’re also described as one of the bigger political parties. This is of course true in this context, and it’s of no surprise that they are stated as such in this specific discourse, even though their history and ideologies still are as intact as in 2005. Further, there are pictures of some of the different party leaders, amongst which Jimmie Åkesson. The leader of The Sweden Democrats is added in this, but some other party leaders in other established parties are left out, despite them being mentioned in the article. This showcases the importance of the party in this context, as well as how normalized they are in this political climate. Thus, the labeling is established in this article.
Their history
There is no mention of, or alluding towards, The Sweden Democrats history in this article.

The discourse(s) present
The discourses and frames present in this article is a negative discourse surrounding the entire political landscape. Regarding The Sweden Democrats, the discourse surrounding them is a normalized and accepted one, and they are even presented as a necessity in order to create a well functioning parliament. This might not be shocking at first sight, as they at this time were the third largest party in the parliament, but it is problematic when remembering their history and their ideological standpoint, which of course has not changed since 2005. What has changed is the acceptance of a party such as theirs into the parliament, and it is worrying that this is not discussed in articles surrounding them, given the power that traditional media has.
8.14 Framing analysis - Article from 2006
“Too hated for the parliament” - Expressen (Appendix no 9.5).

Original: “För hatade för riksdagen”

Actor
Discussing the active actor in this specific article might be a difficult one, as it’s an opinion piece by the journalist. So although there are no active actors as we naturally know it, through citations or narratives created, one could argue that the entirety of the article is active through the journalist's own words.

However, given that there are no active actors in the sense of how Brüggemann & D’Angelos (2018:92) describes active actors in framing analyses, there are no clear active actors that create specific discourses, frames or narratives in this article.

Topic
As mentioned above, determining and discovering the main topic present in the article is of importance, as it most likely will affect the other variables and frames present in the analysis (Lindekilde, 2014:6). For example, if the overall tonality is found to be negative, the topic is of importance and it will showcase the narrative and discourse present for that specific topic.

Determining the main topic presented in this article is somewhat difficult, as the article discusses multiple different topics in relation to The Sweden Democrats. One could however argue that the main topic discussed throughout the article is the upcoming general election. This is seen as the other topics discussed, for example the problematic history of the party and the members of the party, is discussed in relation to the general election, thus making the general election the running topic in the article.

Tonality
Although the topics brought up in the article, the overall tonality of the article is neutral. This as the journalists rather than putting value into the topics discussed, they present them as facts. These facts are however negative (such as the history of the party, and the connection to nazism from some of the party members), but presented in a neutral fashion, thus making the overall tonality neutral. Example:

“The Sweden Democrats claim to have cleaned up the line of nazis and criminals in the party, that previously worked as the foundation of the party not so long ago”
- (Appendix no 9.5).

Labeling
As described above, labeling in this context is coded both in the sense of the actual wording used when describing the party, as well as how they are categorized through the words used.

In the article, the party is being labeled, through the actual word used as xenophobic, as well as being categorized as “the other” by differentiating them as something other than the established parties already chosen into the parliament. If one would apply Eisinger et als
theory surrounding the labeling, most reasonably entails that the views and ideologies of the party were not considered the norm at this period of time. Differentiating the party through both the explanation and the actual words used shows a clear wish to showcase the party as “the other” who are not a natural part of the discourse they’re presented in.

**Their history**

As seen in the citation above, the history of the party is brought up relatively early on in the article. Although it’s presented in a neutral fashion, its neutrality is what makes it especially compelling. In this discourse, the history of The Sweden Democrats is seen as a natural part to discuss when discussing the party as a whole. The Sweden Democrats are indeed a party clouded with their history of nazism and fascism, and is discussed as such in this context.

One could further argue that it’s of no surprise that the labeling of the party follows this explanation of the party’s history, as it’s a natural explanation of a party such as this.

**The discourse(s) present**

In conclusion, the discourse(s) and frame(s) present in this article are negative discourses depicting the dangers of allowing a party with their history into the parliament. Further, the discourse surrounding the labeling is of importance, as they’re depicted as being on the outskirts of the norm, and not fully being allowed into “us”. These frames showcase that in this specific article and context, they are yet to be normalized in society.
8.15 Framing analysis - Article from 2006
“Jokers without flow” - Aftonbladet (Appendix no 9.6).
(Original: Jokrar utan flyt)

Actor
In this article, there are two active actors, and no passive actors present. The main active actor is Peter Esiasson, who is presented as a professor and political scientist. Given that he’s presented as such, he’s given a clear power from the start.

The other active actor is Toivo Sjörén, who’s presented as someone who measures public opinions at Sifo, a world leading organization who measures the public's opinion on certain issues (Sifo, 2022). Like the actor above, this active actor is given a clear set of power and influence, as he’s linked to his profession. None of the actors’ statements are opposed by either anyone else or the journalist's text.

Given that both of these active actors are presented as experts within their field, they contribute to reinforcing the claims of the journalists regarding The Sweden Democrats.

Topic
This article solely discusses the topic of the general election. Every sentence written in this article discusses the general election in one way or the other, either through stating the different parties’ stance in the upcoming election, or how they would affect the parliament if they succeed in the general election. Further, the experts, or active actors, cited in this article are experts on this specific topic, and are cited when discussing it, further establishing the topic in this article.

Tonality
Given the value words presented throughout the article, the overall tonality is a negative one. This negative frame and narrative created is pushed from the very headline of the article, which states: “Jokers without flow” original: Jokrar utan flyt. The labeling of Joker does have a cultural meaning, especially in contexts such as political journalism, and is used in the sense of the one labeled being obnoxious, incompetent or simply insignificant (Merriam-Webster, N/A).

Other words used in this article such as “warning”, “dissatisfaction” and “the threat(s) from underneath” contributes to the overall negative narrative presented in this article, thus making the overall tonality of the article negative towards the topic discussed.

Labeling
In this article, The Sweden Democrats are labeled both by the use of the word xenophobic, but also through wording which differentiate them from the other, more established parties in the parliament. They are described as xenophobic outsiders who somehow have succeeded to break their way into both the public sphere and the parliament.
Throughout the article, they’re differentiated from the other parties through value words such as “the jokers” and “the threat from underneath”. Further, words such as “warnes', “dangerous” and “threat” are used when describing their political progress into the parliament. As mentioned above, joker has a negative connotation and describes an actor as incompetant or insignificant (Merriam-Webster, N/A), which further enables the label of the party not being part of what is seen as the norm in this context. This showcases a reluctance to include The Sweden Democrats into the parliament, as they’re still considered as “the other”, and seemingly not yet normalized in this context and discourse.

**Their history**
Any type of mention of their history does not occur in this article, even though the party is being labeled as right wing extremists. An analysis like this one cannot typically provide a reason to why however, it is important to note that the party is described as “the biggest of the small [political parties running for parliament]”, while simultaneously perpetuating the dangers a party like theirs entails. This could possibly mean that the journalist assumes that the reader has some previous knowledge of the party, and does not need any reinforcement of their history in order to accept the arguments of danger that the journalist claims. This argument does however contradict the argument above stating that the party is relatively new and thus making it crucial to present the audience with the history of the party. This difference in frames and narratives presented in a text is of importance to note, and given that this text and the one above is presented in different newspapers might provide insight that different narratives are presented in different contexts. What remains the same though is the clear labeling of the party as xenophobic and dangerous.

**The discourse(s) present**
In conclusion, the discourse(s) and frame(s) present in this article are negative discourses surrounding the progress of a party that is presented as xenophobic and dangerous. Active actors are presented as case experts and reinforce the negative predictions and claims of the journalist, which furthers the claims that the party is a danger to include in the parliament. The fact that they are labeled as extremists and as “the other” further reinforces the overarching notion that the party not yet are seen as the norm, or fully accepted as part of the context they are presented in.
8.16 Framing analysis - Article from 2014
“The Alliance closes in: It is serious” - Aftonbladet (Appendix no 9.7)
Original: “Alliansen tar in: Är allvar”

Actor
There are multiple active actors in this article, most being party leaders of the biggest parties in the parliament, among those being Stefan Löfven (S), Fredrik Reinfeldt (M) and Annie Lööf (C). Further, like the article discussed above, a spokesperson from an organization measuring the public opinion surrounding the different political parties, Felix Åberg, is an active actor.

The active actors all comment on the public opinion and predictions for the upcoming election that spawned the headline for this article: that the alliance (then consisting of Moderaterna, Centerpartiet, Kristdemokraterna and Folkpartiet (now called Liberalerna)), seemingly are filling the gap in votes for the upcoming general election. They are unrelated to one another, and solely comment on their own parties’ progress.

Felix Åberg, the case expert on the new public opinion, commented on the new predicaments for the upcoming election, without being biased either way.

Topic
The main, and only, topic this article presents is the new predicaments for the upcoming elections. Everything written in this article touches on this topic, and no other topic is brought up anywhere in the article. The topic of the general election is also discussed with an uncertainty of how the political climate will be after the election. This as the political climate at this time was generally shaky, for a lack of a better word, and the previous certainty of the strong political blocks were slowly but surely deteriorating. The Alliance had previously been strong and certain of their place in the parliament, and certain of the other parties support. In 2014 however, cracks in the clear blocks had begun to show, as the red-green-parties (Socialdemokraterna, Västerpartied and Miljöpartiet) had grown all the more strong.

Tonality
The overall tonality in this article is neutral. No specific value words, as described above, is being used when presenting the facts of the topic, and everything discussed or presented in the article is done so in a matter-of-fact-manner rather than an argumentative way, thus making the tonality neutral.

Labeling
What’s prominent in this article in regards to the labeling of The Sweden Democrats is the lack of labeling through words at all. The party is solely mentioned together with another party, Feministiskt Initiativ (FI), where it’s mentioned that both of those parties seemingly have lost voters in the new predicaments.
I would argue, however, that this loss of words in regards to the labeling are synonymous with their acceptance into the parliament, and thus acceptance in regarding the discourses’ and contexts’ norms. The party is clumped together with another accepted party, and well linked to the more established parties without any type of differentiating factor. The fact that they are presented in the article at all, together with the more established parties, are telling of the acceptance this party has gone through in our society. And given the definition of labeling this study follows, which is presented above under definitions, the party being categorized with the established parties of the parliament, they are being labeled as such as well.

**Their history**

Given that the party only is presented in one small paragraph in the text that mentions they’re seeming loss of voters according to the new predicaments, there are no mentions of their problematic history in the article.

This might not be of any surprise though, as I previously argued that the narrative and labeling presented of the party is an established one. Any mention of their history in relation to this type of narrative would be borderline shocking, given the context the party was created in. This analysis clearly aligns with the findings in the content analysis regarding mentioning of their history and labeling in 2014 as well.

**The discourse(s) present**

In conclusion, the discourses present in this article are discourses surrounding the predicaments for the upcoming election, and the overall uncertainty of how the political climate will be after the general election. The discourse also presents an overall acceptance of The Sweden Democrats’ ideologies, as they are presented as a natural part of this discussion in the parliament. As seen, there has been an immense shift in acceptance and narratives surrounding the acceptance of the party in just a few years. Of course there might be a natural explanation. The Sweden Democrats have grown to become a rather big party already, and they were indeed an active player in this parliament. However, as discussed in the content analysis, their problematic history has not changed, and one could argue that it is as important as ever to discuss this with the audience, in order to not forget where the party stems from. That being said, the discourse present, in regarding the labeling of the party, in this article is an accepting one where they are presented as part of the established parties.
8.17 Framing analysis - Article from 2014
“The expert: ‘Just a bunch of nagging’” - Aftonbladet (Appendix no 9.8)
Original: “Experten: ‘Bara ett malande’”.

Actor
The main active actor in this article is Elaine Eksvärd, and is, already in the headline, given the label of expert, and is brought in to provide facts about different topics discussed in the article.

It is interesting that an expert is an active actor in both of the discussed articles from 2014, and it might shed some light on the political landscape in Sweden during this time. As stated above, the political climate in Sweden during this time had gone from generally stable with two clear blocks, to becoming blurred and unclear. This might provide an insight to why experts are active actors in both of these articles, as the journalists might believe that the audience is in need of some clarification of the political landscape.

However, unlike the article above, the expert in this article is not a political scientist, but rather a speech therapist called Elaine Eksvärd. She is, and already was in 2014, a well known public speaker and communicative expert. Although one could arguably say that she is indeed an expert in her own field, her contribution in this specific context is questionable. Her comments regarding how the politicians spoke and presented themselves might not be of great interest in a climate where there is a lot of uncertainty in the political landscape.

Eksvärds comments affect the narratives of the role the other active actors play rather than provide any insight in the political scene. This creates a less serious tone or narrative surrounding the general election, as opposed to the article discussed above.

However, despite this less serious narrative being created, one could argue that this expert is included in order to provide some insight to which one of the political leaders might be the most certain and/or natural leader. And given the fragile political landscape mentioned above, Eksvärds commentary might provide the audience with some clarification to whom they should put their trust on. Eksvärd is nonetheless the main active actor in the article.

Although some citations from other actors, the leaders for some of the other political parties Moderaterna and Socialdemokraterna, are prominent in this article, they cannot be classified as active actors, as their citations are only included for the expert to comment on, or simply a re-telling of the discussions in the debate. They are nonetheless actors in this article, although their stances are more reminiscent of passive- rather than active-actors.

Topic
The main topic discussed in this article is a specific case, a debate between the two party leaders Reinfeldt (M) and Löfven (S). However, as this entire debate was created to discuss the general election, the main topic of the article is the general election. The majority of the text and quotes are simply re-telling the narrative and main points of the previously mentioned debate. The texts which are not re-telling the debate are discussing what is said in the debate, and are thus also discussing the topic at hand.
Despite the fact that the headline of the article has a negative connotation, as it’s a critique of the topic in the article, the overall tonality of the article is neutral. The majority of the text in the article is solely a re-telling of the debate that occurred the evening before. The majority of this re-telling entails details of the opinions regarding some key aspects that Löfven (S) and Reinfeldt (M) deem as most important issues to bring with them to the parliament, if their party wins the election.

Example of this is as follows:

“The Alliance (M) initiated by telling about The Alliance proposition regarding Sverigebygget [loose translation: The building of Sweden], where they, amongst other things, are hoping that 20 000 jobs within the buildings will be created. After this Stefan Löfven (S) answered that the unemployment rate has gone up the last few years” - Appendix no 9.8.

As seen in the quote above, which is representative of the majority of the quotes and text in this article, it’s simply a neutral, and reasonably objective, re-telling of the contents discussed in the previous debate. So despite the few somewhat negative remarks from Eksvärd, the overall tonality is neutral.

In this article, the labeling of The Sweden Democrats are somewhat similar to that in the previous article, as they’re depicted as having a natural place in the parliament. However, when the, mainly passive, actors in this article mention the party, it’s in a way that differentiates themselves from The Sweden Democrats. For example, Reinfeldt (M) is quoted saying the following: “[...] We cannot in any way cooperate with that party” (Appendix no 9.8). Although this is a clear reluctance to cooperate with The Sweden Democrats in a government, there is no way of differentiating themselves from the party in a labeling fashion. The fact that Reinfeldt (M) is discussing the party in such a way that they’re implied to be a given in the parliament rather showcases that The Sweden Democrats are to be seen as one of the established parties.

So through this quote, that is one of the very few parts of the article that discusses The Sweden Democrats, although it’s not favorable to The Sweden Democrats, it doesn’t label the party in any sort of way, thus making the labeling neutral. The other parts that quickly glosses over The Sweden Democrats touches on how Reinfeldt (M) and Löfven (S) have described their voters rather than the party itself. The voters have been described as worried and angry by the other party leaders. Although this is an interesting aspect, it does not change the labeling of the entire party in this specific article.

As mentioned above, there is hardly any mention of The Sweden Democrats at all, which also in this case entails that there is no mention of their history at all. One could possibly however see a hint of their history or ideology being thought of in the quote from Reinfeldt (M) above,
where he states that there is no chance of a cooperation between them. However, based solely on the frames and/or narratives presented in the article, this is not a conclusion that is reasonable to draw solely from this quote. Alas, there is no mention of their history in this article.

The discourse(s) present
The discourses present in this article are neutral discourses surrounding the upcoming general election, and more specifically a debate surrounding it. There is little mention of The Sweden Democrats, but the discourses surrounding them are neutral mentions of their role in the upcoming election. The discourse surrounding them is thus that they are to be seen as a natural part in the upcoming election and context. However, there is some reluctance towards the party, as seen by the quote from Reinfeldt seen above. This might entail that they are not yet fully normalized by the other parties in this discourse.
Actor
There are no active actors in this article, as it’s simply a re-telling of past political scandals. There are some quotes from the people involved in the scandals discussed, but they’re not new citations, but rather a re-telling of what was said. The actors discussed in this article though are political candidates from various parties who have gone through some form of scandal. Amongst these, there are some candidates from The Sweden Democrats.

Topic
The overall topic of this article is mentioned in the headline, and the text that follows also applies to this topic: previous scandals of those running for parliament. Some underlying topics related to the different scandals are also mentioned, such as negative actions of candidates in The Sweden Democrats, which is another variable in the content analysis. There are also some underlying economic topics discussed, but since they all fall under the topic of scandals, that is the main topic in the article.

Tonality
As mentioned above, the topic of this article discusses political scandals. Although there are negative connotations with the word, as well as negative scandals in relation to their political position, the article is simply reporting on the scandals, and re-telling them once again before the election. Given that the journalist doesn’t apply any other context or implications for these scandals, even though they are negative, the overall tonality of the article is neutral.

Labeling
The labeling of The Sweden Democrats is again not through what’s written, but rather through categorization with other parties. The party is simply discussed and brought up like any other party, making them labeled as established through association.

Their history
Even when a scandal surrounding some of their candidates having been part of a nazi-related organisation, nothing surrounding their history is mentioned. One could argue that this would have been an easy transition for the journalist to even slightly mention the party’s past, but the text rather focuses on the individual scandals, rather than the bigger picture. This does align with Cammaert's (2020:251) theory surrounding that some media channels focus on individuals rather than a party’s whole ideology, but it is nonetheless problematic.

The discourse(s) present
The discourse present in this article is a neutral re-telling of past scandals of most of the established parties in the parliament. The Sweden Democrats are mentioned in the same fashion as the other parties, and they are thus labeled as established simply through association with the others. As mentioned, even though a scandal mentioned in relation to the
party being about some candidates nazi-related activities, nothing surrounding the party’s own history is mentioned. This is most likely due to the party being normalized as a part of our society.
8.19 Framing analysis - Article from 2018
“A battle in power tonight between Kristersson and Löfven” Appendix no 9.10
Original: “Maktbråk i natt mellan Kristersson och Löfven”

Actor
The active actors in this article are both the two party leaders mentioned in the headline, Kristersson (M) and Löfven (S). These actors are answering questions in relation to the upcoming election, and how, if they were chosen to become prime minister, would seek to run the parliament together with the other parties.
There is another active actor in this article, and that is Gustav Fridolin (MP) who was asked to comment on how they think the two other active actors would seek to counteract the splintered parliament.

Topic
The topic of this article is the parliamentary landscape leading up to the general election. The actors discuss their stance on how best to create a strong parliamentary position together with the other parties. No other topic is discussed in this article.

Tonality
The re-telling of the discussion of the two main actors in this article is done in a rather critical way, where statements are described such as “fights back” and “the accusations hailed down”. However, even though the discussion is in some parts of the article described like this, the overall tonality is still neutral. This as the journalists, apart from the words mentioned above, are simply reporting on the negative words used by the actors themselves in a neutral fashion.

Labeling
The labeling of The Sweden Democrats are, again, not through written words, but by categorization and association. One interesting aspect of this article is that even though The Sweden Democrats seemingly have a natural part in the parliament, they are also differentiated throughout the article from the other parties by statements that none of the established parties wants to create a co-operation with them. So given that they have a natural part in the election, but still seemingly aren’t clearly described as the other parties, the labeling of the party is neutral.

Their history
There is no mention and no alluding towards The Sweden Democrats past in this article. As mentioned above, there is mention of the fact that none of the main parties are open to working together with the party, but there is no mentioning of why.

The discourse(s) present
The discourse present in this article is, again, a neutral reporting on a previous event discussing the upcoming general election. What differentiates this article from the other one from the same year however is that The Sweden Democrats aren’t labeled as established, but rather as neutral, as there are some differentiating words from them being fully established.
That being said, given that there are no clear remarks to why these differences exist, they are seemingly normalized in this context as well.